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VOLUME TWO

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THE TERRIBLE ARCHERS OF DARIUS

The art of the Persian kings was thoroughly cosmopolitan and drew elements from Egypt and Ionia; but comparison will show that their enamel work was derived directly from their neighbors and subjects in Mesopotamia. This is a bodyguard of King Darius from his palace at Susa, consisting of the famous Persian archers; they are equipped with long spear, enormous quiver, and a short, curved bow of the Scythian type.

The Louvre

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VOLUME TWO

Pages 307-616

THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE—
ITS SPLENDOR AND DECLINE—
FOLLOWED BY THE RISE OF MACEDONIA
1580-478 B.C.

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MCMXXXIX

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Chronicle II

DAWN: 1580—900 B.C.

When in 1580 B.C. Aahmes the Liberator flung the foreign tyrants in rout over the Egyptian border he was only at the beginning of his work. He had to consolidate a kingdom, and he had first to secure it against a renewal of the Semite aggression. Across the border the Semite power was far from being broken.

Military Regeneration in Egypt

Accordingly, immediately after the expulsion, we find Aahmes engaged in a strenuous campaign in southern Palestine, and his armies battling successfully in north Palestine and Phoenicia. The probable object of these campaigns was not an imperial expansion but the security and consolidation of the restored kingdom of Egypt.

The menace from Asia being thoroughly curbed, Aahmes and his immediate successor Amenhotep I (1557-1541 B.C.) had a sufficiently heavy task before them in the reorganization of the state and the recovery of the upper Nile. In the nature of things, it was only through a new military system that the new monarchy could be established, and a new art of war was developed when the Egyptians learnt to appreciate on Syrian soil the possibilities of the war-chariot. Aahmes must have shaped the organization. He had loyal supporters, but there was a serious disloyal element ready to take advantage of his embarrassments, especially in the south. When his successor Amenhotep found it necessary to march into Nubia, rebels rose in his rear with whom his officers dealt faithfully; but the fact shows how hard it was to restore the central authority after two centuries of disintegration.

The power of the dynasty was fully established by the time of the accession of Thothmes I as husband of Amenhotep's daughter (also named Aahmes), some forty years after the liberation. Thothmes looked upon Syria as part of his dominion, though his predecessors must have had little enough hold on it and it ignored his sovereignty. He set about a conquest, but only in the old style; that is to say, conquest was not accompanied or followed by the organization of effective control. He marched as far north as Naharin, the region lying between the Orontes and the Euphrates, meeting generally with little resistance but winning a great victory; and he set up a stele beside the great river. Then he returned home proclaiming that he had made the 'circuit of the sun' the boundary of Egypt.

Back in Egypt, he set himself to the restoration of past splendors. But the annals at the close of his reign (about 1501 B.C.) are complicated by an unsolved puzzle about the succession.

Queen Hatshepsut's Golden Days

Thothmes had a daughter by his queen Aahmes, who represented the line of Aahmes the liberator. This daughter, Hatshepsut, he had recognized as the legitimate successor to the throne which he himself occupied because he was her mother's husband. By inferior wives he had also two sons—or just possibly a son and a grandson—both named Thothmes. Presumably in order to keep the succession in the royal family, Hatshepsut was married to the younger.

Now it is certain that the elder was Pharaoh, as Thothmes II, with or without a co-regent, for two or three years. It is certain that Hatshepsut reigned for several years as independent sovereign, and was able in spite of her sex to ignore her young husband's title, which attached to him only through her. It is certain, too, that both she and her husband Thothmes III, who ruled gloriously for many years after her death, dated their reigns from 1501. But whether the brief reign of Thothmes II preceded their accession, or was a revolutionary episode in Hatshepsut's first years, is an undecided question. That Thothmes III resented intensely the treatment he suffered at her hands, and afterwards did his best to obliterate her memory, is not to be denied. It is to his deliberate defacement of her monuments that we owe this tangle of obscurity.

But the surprising fact remains that for some twenty years a queen not only reigned but ruled in Egypt, relegating her

exceptionally able spouse to the position of a mere consort, though there was no precedent for such a happening. Indeed, so ingrained were the conventions attached to a male ruler that on her monuments she is represented with a beard and in male attire; certainly in her rule she displayed a masculine energy.

Under her rule Egypt flourished exceedingly, if the splendors of her temple building and temple restorations are any criterion of the national wealth and prosperity. The most remarkable of her efforts, however, was a grand expedition by land and water to Punt, where no Egyptian had been seen for untold years—an entirely friendly expedition with no thought of war. It returned most richly laden with the products of that region, and is magnificently commemorated on the walls of the splendid queen's splendid temple at Deir el-Bahri, opposite Thebes.

With her death, in 1480-79 B.C., the energies of Thothmes III were released from the shackles she had imposed on them. We have come to the reign of the man who is perhaps entitled to be called the prototype of constructive empire builders; a conqueror, but no mere captain of victorious armies; a statesman even more than a warrior, though a warrior of genius.

In 1479—that is, at the earliest possible moment after the death of Hatshepsut—

SCENE OF THE EARLIEST IMPERIAL EXPANSIONS THAT HISTORY RECORDS

As far as possible this map shows the political situations in the Near East during the eventful period between 1580 and 900 B.C., which saw the rise and fall of Egyptian and Hittite empires, the first rumblings of the Assyrian volcano and the appearance of those new peoples to whom the history of the future belonged. Arrows show important racial movements, without indicating exact routes—for these see Chap. 19. The full extent of Egyptian dominions is shown in Chap. 15.

Thothmes set out on his first Asiatic campaign. It was more than time, if the work of his predecessors was to be preserved. Since Thothmes I had planted his boundary stone on the bank of the Euphrates, the only expedition into Syria had been a raid led by Thothmes II during his brief reign. The Syrians, once the masters of Egypt, had no mind to remain the subjects of the Pharaoh, and a great confederation was already in arms in the north.

The headquarters of the confederates lay at Kadesh on the Orontes, whose king was no doubt the moving spirit of the league. All Syria would seem to have joined it, except the chiefs of southern Palestine, on whom the first onslaught would fall.

In April, 1479, Thothmes had assembled his army on the frontier of Egypt proper. Nine days later he was at Gaza, on the twenty-second anniversary of his formal accession. He did not pause to celebrate it, but was on the march again next morning. The confederates, rebels from his point of view, had gathered in force with their base at Megiddo on the other side of the ridge of Mount Carmel, to bar the route by which an invading force from the south must enter Syria. No resistance was to be looked for in the south; in ten days he was at the eastern foothills of Carmel.

Megiddo lay at the far mouth of a very narrow pass. Apart from this, he might follow the main route, skirting the south of Carmel, or turn the enemy's position by way of a broader pass on the north. Through the Megiddo pass his army would have to move often in single file; as his council of war pointed out, it might very well be trapped and cut to pieces. But the king's calculated audacity overruled the counsels of caution. Others were free to take what route they chose; he was going through the pass at the head of those who dared to follow.

First of the many Battles of Megiddo

AUDACITY succeeded. The whole army of course followed the intrepid king; no preparation had been made on the other side for a move so unexpected, no resistance of consequence was met with, and the troops were able to form up on the comparatively open ground at the mouth of the pass, while the surprised enemy hastily threw themselves between Thothmes and the town. The chariots must have found the pass rough going; but the whole force had been carried through and re-formed in less than twelve hours—a fair proof of the smallness of the expeditionary army.

When battle was joined next morning, the king, leading the charge of his troops, broke the enemy's center, and the Syrians were soon flying in headlong rout to the walls of Megiddo, which closed its gates. The town was closely invested, and starved into surrender.

THE 'NAPOLEON OF EGYPT'

A brilliant general with a comparatively scientific understanding of warfare, and the vitality required for active campaigning, Thothmes III by force of arms and bellicose display greatly extended Egyptian influence in Syria and Nubia.

Cairo Museum

The campaign was completed by a rapid march to the foot of the Lebanons, where further submissions were received and a fortress was planted and garrisoned. Six months after leaving the Egyptian frontier the conqueror was back at Thebes, endowing the supreme god Amen with the unexampled fruits of his victories.

Consolidating Egypt's Syrian Empire

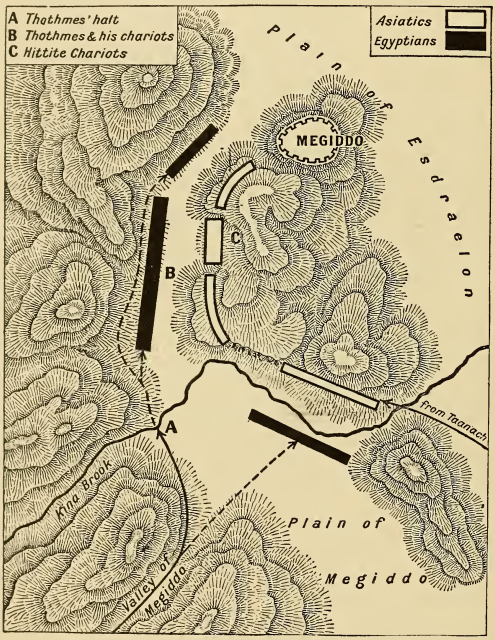
In each of the three following years Thothmes conducted a bloodless 'campaign' through the territories which he had restored to Egypt; confirming his authority, but postponing further military adventures till all should be thoroughly secured. Then fell an interval during which he was laying far-sighted plans for future campaigns. To reach the distant and still defiant Kadesh, he needed a new base; and he conceived the idea, brilliant for his days, of turning the Syrian position by sea, at the same time avoiding the difficult terrain of Palestine. Thus in the seventh year a great fleet transported him to northern Phoenicia, which made ready submission and for many years afforded Egypt a secure naval base in the north. The next year's campaign saw the fall of Kadesh, hitherto the stubborn center of Syrian hostility.

Napoleonic Genius of Thothmes III

Beyond Kadesh, however, was Naharin, and behind Naharin again was the powerful state of Mitanni—the first probably Aryan-speaking power to appear on the scene. The eighth expedition was directed from Phoenicia upon Naharin; her cities fell before Thothmes, who smote a Mitannian force at Carchemish, reached the Euphrates and crossed it, and planted his boundary-stone on its farther side. But, true to his principle, he halted to organize before carrying his arms farther.

In fact, when Thothmes reached the Euphrates, the limit beyond which his predecessors had at no time claimed dominion, he abandoned, if he had ever entertained, the idea of further expansion. He crossed the Euphrates merely by way of a demonstration that he had done something which no one before him had succeeded in accomplishing.

Such was the fear inspired by his invincible prowess that even from the land of Hatti beyond the Taurus the Hittites thought it politic to send the complimentary gifts which by him were naturally styled tribute. Taurus and Euphrates were natural physical boundaries beyond which it would never be practicable to exercise efficient control, and only one more campaign was



TACTICS OF THE BATTLE OF MEGIDDO

Megiddo, with three roads converging thereon, blocked the route to North Syria. The Syrians were guarding the obvious open road by Taanach; Thothmes III flung his army through the narrow central pass and gave successful battle to the hurriedly recalled enemy beneath the walls of the town.

needed to round off the empire by subjugating what was still unsubdued on this side of Taurus.

For nine more years, however, the regular military demonstrations or progresses were annually repeated, usually from Phoenicia. But for the last ten years of the reign even demonstrations ceased to be necessary. Peace was unbroken from the Euphrates to the Nile.

Some six months of nearly every year, for twenty years after the death of Hatshepsut, had been passed by Thothmes in Asia. In his absences, the administration of Egypt itself was the care of trusty viziers—in medieval England they would have been called justiciars. But whenever he was at home, Thothmes was immensely energetic in every department of government, as well as in the execution of innumerable public works. By personal tours of inspection and supervision he ensured the sound administration of justice together with the honest and equitable collection of revenue. It is evident that all the productive resources of the country were actively developed, and the products of foreign climes poured into Egypt, from without the empire as well as from within it.

POWERFUL RULER

Celebrated for his warlike valor, Amenhotep II successfully reaffirmed the conquests of his father, Thothmes III, and gave Egypt twenty years of peace.

Cairo Museum

The organization of the Asiatic empire of Thothmes presents remarkable features. Native princes continued to rule in the subject principalities, conditionally on their good behavior, including the regular payment of the recognized tribute. In some instances they were attended by an imperial officer who discharged the functions of a British Resident in India. Egyptian garrisons were stationed in fortresses at strategic points. Every effort was made to bring the native rulers into sympathy with Egyptian and imperial ideas, especially by educating them in the princes' college at Thebes. There was no interference with native religious or other customs. The rule was a foreign rule, established at the sword's point, and was felt and resented as such; but it was a rule beneficent and irresistible, which gave to the weak a secure protection against their stronger neighbors.

Thothmes died a month before the completion of the fifty-fourth year of his nominal and thirty-third of his unfettered reign. His successor was his son, Amenhotep II (1447-1420 B.C.), whom he had associated with himself on the throne a year or two earlier.

It was long since the secretly hostile princes of Syria had ventured to attempt rebellion. The death of the old king was the opportunity for which they had been waiting, and they promptly rose to arms. The new king was no less prompt. Within a month from his father's death he was on the march from Egypt. Before the swift rush of his march resistance crumpled up. As he swung up to the Euphrates, a cowering embassy from Mitanni came to implore grace. The rebellion collapsed utterly and never again ventured to raise its head during the life of this Egyptian Coeur-de-Lion.

Amenhotep returned to Egypt in triumph after his brief tornado-like campaign. He sailed up to Thebes with seven captive kings hanging alive head downward from his prow; six of them he slew in the temple of Amen, as an acceptable sacrifice to the god. The victory in the north was followed up by a campaign in Nubia, which carried his southern frontier to the Fourth Cataract, where the seventh of the northern princes was hung up on the

walls of Napata as a grim warning to rebels.

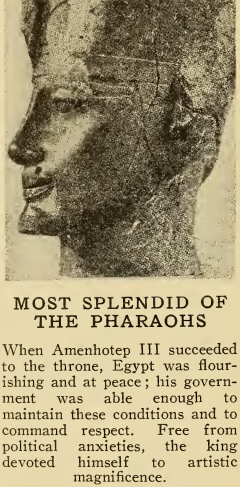
Amenhotep had proved himself a mighty man of his hands, and a commander in the field who was no unworthy son of the great Thothmes. Nevertheless, he was not moved to any further military exploits in the remaining twenty years or more of his reign. The irresistible strength of the government had been decisively demonstrated, and Egypt enjoyed apparently unbroken peace and prosperity.

It was a matter of course, however, that his death (c. 1420) should be the signal for risings in the remote provinces of the empire. At any rate, his son Thothmes IV had to undertake a campaign in Naharin, from which he returned with spoils and slaves. It was also made the occasion for the opening of friendly diplomatic relations with Mitanni.

First Royal Marriage for Reasons of State

We may assume that the overtures had come from Mitanni, which had been thoroughly taught to fear the power of the southern empire. Having failed to preserve a buffer in Naharin, policy required friendly relations. Babylonia, always pacific, also offered amity. The result was an unprecedented departure from Egyptian practice; Thothmes IV invited a Mitannian princess to become his queen—the first instance of a political alliance cemented by a royal marriage. In due time Mutemuya (to give her her Egyptian name) became, it is said, the mother of the next emperor, Amenhotep III who ascended the throne in 1411.

During the thirty-six years of his reign Amenhotep III seems once and only once to have taken part in even the semblance of a military expedition. This was into Nubia, in his fourth year. For the rest of the reign, the imperial peace seems to have been unbroken.



MOST SPLENDID OF THE PHARAOHS

When Amenhotep III succeeded to the throne, Egypt was flourishing and at peace; his government was able enough to maintain these conditions and to command respect. Free from political anxieties, the king devoted himself to artistic magnificence.

Photo, Mansell

Egypt at the Zenith of her Magnificence

In the reign of Amenhotep III Egypt was at the height of her power, the zenith of her magnificence. Of all her rulers he was the most splendid. Wealth poured into his treasury, to be poured out in a correspondingly lavish expenditure on every form of art. He had no political or military anxieties to vex him. With all the Mesopotamian powers on the best of terms there seemed to be no danger of external attack, and the organization of the empire created by his forebears had reached such perfection that no internal disturbance was to be feared. The reign of Amenhotep III was the golden age of Egypt. He was her 'Roi Soleil.'

The contemporary historical documents, apart from the monuments are particularly illuminating. For his reign and that of his son we have the singular mass of diplomatic correspondence, known from the place where they were discovered as the Tell el-Amarna letters.

Since the Kassite conquest in Babylonia, our narrative has carried us across the Euphrates only at the moment when a Thothmes or an Amenhotep thought fit to set up a boundary-stone on its farther bank in celebration of victory won on the hither side. The meagre chronicles of the Mesopotamian regions give us no events to record. In Babylonia a foreign dynasty reigned. Elam had long been inactive; the Sea Country as a separate state had passed away; no new invaders later than the Kassites had burst in from the mountains. Babylon, as the sacred city and the seat of the monarchy, enjoyed a dignified

prestige, but was placidly unaggressive. Ashur acknowledged her authority as a polite convention. At some not clearly distinguishable stage the state of Mitanni, under its Aryan rulers, had developed in upper Mesopotamia. With Assyrians on the east, Syrians on the south-west, and the Hittite storm-cloud on the Taurus, her interest was certainly peace. For each and all of the Mesopotamian states it had become a matter of primary importance to conciliate the mighty empire of the south.

Amicable Relations with Mitanni and Babylon

Yet amidst all this splendor might have been detected warnings of trouble to be guarded against; they remained unheeded. From the far north came warnings of Hittite raids, but a Hittite attack on Mitanni had been heavily defeated by its king, Dushratta. Amenhotep declined to regard as serious the appeals of his provincial governors for more active measures; and the empire paid the penalty in the reign (1375-1358 B.C.) of his son Amenhotep IV, better known as Akhnaton.

The Cost of Unpractical Idealism

No sudden storm burst immediately on his accession. The Hittite king was anxious to lull suspicions, and among the Syrian princes the arch-traitor Aziru the Amorite was an adept in the art of giving a plausible colour of loyalty to his most disloyal operations. In spite of urgent appeals, the loyalists were not reinforced, while city after city was falling into the hands of Aziru or his Hittite ally, and Dushratta of Mitanni and Burra-Buriash of Babylon were clamouring for the gold that Egypt could so easily supply. Farther south, Palestine was in chaos, overrun by the Khabiru—desert tribes, suspected by some of being the 'Hebrew' conquerors of Canaan, and almost certainly not unconnected with them in some way. And Amenhotep at home was too busy replacing the worship of Amen by that of the Aton, and changing his own name to 'Akhn-Aton,' to give attention to the needs of his Asiatic subjects.

The paralysis of Egypt continued till the middle of the century. The revolutionary king was probably no more than thirty when he died; of his three immediate successors, two, Sakere and Tutankhamen, were his sons-in-law, while the third, Ay, was a figurehead perhaps placed on the throne by Horemheb, or Harmhab, who may be reckoned as either the last of the Eighteenth or first of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Tutankh-Amen, by the changing of his name from Tutankh-Aton, marks the collapse of Akhnaton's idealist 'heresy' and the recovery of power by the priesthood of Amen. An attempt was made in his reign to reassert the imperial authority in Asia, but it was already too late. The empire created by the genius of Thothmes III had passed away.

HEIR TO A DIMINISHED INHERITANCE

Second of the three insignificant successors of Akhnaton, Tutankhamen was incapable of repairing the damage caused by the reformer but did attempt to renew Egyptian authority in Palestine. He was succeeded by Ay, who was Pharaoh from 1353 to 1350 B.C.

From Carter and Mace, 'The Tomb of Tutankhamen,' and the Berlin Museum

Under a government efficiently controlled and directed, by a competent head and competent viceroys, the disruptive movement in Syria would have met with no more success than those that had preceded it during the past century. As matters stood, it was the craft of the very able Hittite king, Subbiluliuma (1395-1350 B.C.), that fostered the movement. Cunning as Aziru was, he was, in fact, only the cat's-paw of the Hittite; if he shook off the yoke of Egypt, it was but to find himself the vassal of Hatti.

Unwittingly, Akhnaton's religious revolution was responsible for a revolution in the international system. When Horemheb, having probably been

for some time the saving power behind the throne, himself assumed the responsibility of the crown, Asia had been passing through the melting-pot. Subbiluliuma had absorbed Naharin and the coastlands, from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, and Mitanni, too, had disappeared into the Hittite maw, or partly into that of Assyria; while Babylon was rather dependent on Assyria than Assyria on Babylon.

Horemheb was an Egyptian noble apparently unconnected with the royal family. He had discharged numerous administrative functions with efficiency, evidently retaining the confidence of Akhnaton himself and his successors in spite of his adherence to the old religion. Finally, his influence and authority with the Amen party, joined with loyalty to the throne, had led to his endowment with official powers practically amounting to a dictatorship. On the death of Ay (c. 1350) there was no one with a clear title to the succession; he was obviously the necessary man of the hour; the army was in his hands, there were no rivals, and the divine oracles were prompt to give their sanction. He provided himself with a formal title by marrying the sister of Akhnaton's queen, and ascended the throne of the Pharaohs.

His business was a conservative reconstruction. Ambitious imperial schemes were out of the question until a sound system of domestic administration had been restored and brought into thorough working order. Corruption, peculation, official oppression, evasion of the law, downright lawlessness, were rife. The cleansing of the Augean stable required infinite courage, tenacity and patience, a ruler of character rather than of genius. Egypt had found one who could make it his sole boast that he had wholeheartedly sought the welfare of Egypt. The stable was cleansed, and was kept clean. Horemheb was an old and tired man before his reign was ended (1321 B.C.); but during that reign he had done a king's work for the people over whom he ruled.

Rameses I, his successor, was presumably of the old blood-royal. He survived for a year or two years only; but he had already associated with himself on the throne his son Seti I (1320-1300 B.C.), a prince well fitted to carry on the task of revival.

Even through the period of disintegration, Egypt had kept a hold on Nubia, and to some extent on southern Palestine or Canaan; there, however, it can have amounted to little more than a somewhat uncertain collection of tribute.

Asiatic Adventures of Seti I

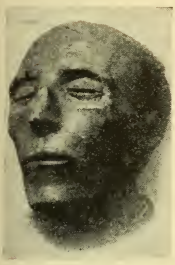
SETI as crown prince had conducted a little frontier war with Nubia, and now he decided that the time had come to restore in what was left of the outlying portions of the old empire the order which Horemheb had re-established in the Nile valley.

The first move was a march on Palestine. Seti marched by the usual coast route through southern Palestine unresisted, entered Megiddo, and pushed north as far as the Lebanon and Tyre, receiving the submission of the princes. He returned to Egypt in triumph. The Libyans on the west had been making experimental raids on the Delta and required a lesson before he made his second and last Asiatic expedition to confirm the effects of the first. On this occasion there was an engagement with Hittite forces in which the latter were routed; but no attempt was made to extend conquest.

Though Seti reigned for twenty years he attempted no further conquest of Asia. He carried out public works on a great scale of magnificence, but also others which were or ought to be of direct benefit, notably the sinking and protection of wells —not always with success. Before his death he secured the succession of his eldest son; but he was hardly in his grave when his second son Rameses II (1300-1225 B.C.) supplanted his elder brother.

Endowed with an enormous self-confidence and unsurpassed egotism, Rameses resolved to recover all the imperial glories of the past in his own person. The fourth year of his reign saw him, in imitation of the great Thothmes, establishing his hold on the northern coastland; early in the fifth (1296), he was on the march against Mutallis, the Hittite king, who, in preparation for the attack, had gathered a great army and occupied the commanding strategic position at Kadesh.

Advancing from the coast with his force in four divisions named after the four great gods—Amen, Ra, Ptah and Sutekh



RESTORER OF IMPERIAL GREATNESS

With Egypt again consolidated within, Seti I recovered for her the effective control of much of Palestine and Syria. Here is his mummified head.

Photo, Mansell

—Rameses was skilfully drawn into a trap which all but wrought his ruin. Deceived into believing that the enemy had fallen back, he flung himself on Kadesh with the Amen division, leaving the others far in the rear. The Hittites and their allies, ambushed behind the town, suddenly launched their chariots upon the the Ra division as it straggled up, cut it in two, broke into Amen's encampment, and would have annihilated the King and his personal bodyguard but for the desperate valor with which he headed chariot charge after charge against them.

Meanwhile, news of the disaster reached the tardy Ptah division, which arrived on the scene just in time to fall on the rear of the enemy and turn the tables on them. The enemy fled, according to the Egyptian account, and sent envoys to implore for peace, which was granted by the magnanimous victor. Rameses withdrew in triumph, and returned to Egypt to celebrate his glories.

Treaty that Ended the Hittite War

ACTUALLY, Rameses was so far from having broken the Hittite power that he was very soon engaged on a campaign to make good his position in southern Palestine, where the Hittites were making common cause with the foes of Egypt. It took some three years before that region was sufficiently subdued to enable him to proceed with his efforts at reconquest farther north in Naharin. The course of these wars cannot be traced with any accuracy, but it all ended in Peace with Honor. Mutallis was killed—perhaps assassinated—in 1295 and his brother Hattusil proffered terms, by no means in the character of a vanquished suppliant. Peace and amity were better than an interminable war between rivals, neither of whom seemed in the least likely to achieve decisive victory. That was all. Hatti and Egypt were on an equal footing—and Egypt was quite willing.

The treaty struck in the twenty-first year of Rameses II is the first instrument of the kind preserved for posterity, possibly the first to which the name 'treaty' can be applied definitely. It was so faithfully observed that Hatti and Egypt were never again in arms against each other (1280 B.C.).

Rameses had evidently had his fill of fighting, for we never hear of him on campaign again after the treaty, though he lived till 1225. When the lust of battle and adventure had departed from him, he left the empire to sink into decay while

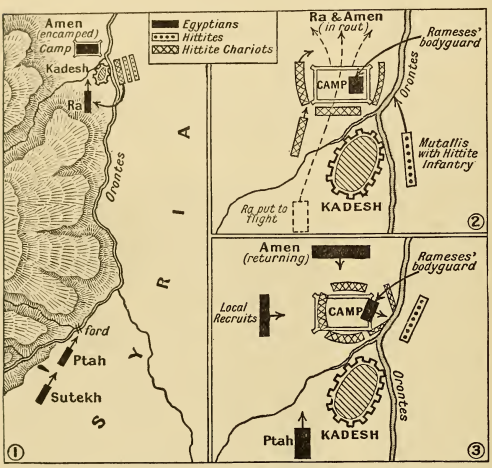
GUIDED BY VAST AMBITIONS

In attempting grandiose conquests in Asia, Rameses II was actuated by hunger for glory and empire rather than by statesmanship. This statue and even the head of his mummy convey a clear impression of his great pride and vitality.

Photos, Mansell

its outward splendor hid the process. Long before the end—he had probably sunk into senile decay himself. The eldest survivor of his multitudinous offspring, Merneptah (who was formerly identified with the 'Pharaoh of the Exodus'), though already an old man, made a creditable attempt at recovery, crushed revolts in Palestine, and inflicted a shattering defeat on the forces of Libyan raiders reinforced by the ominously multiplying bands of sea-rovers (1221). But on his death (c. 1215) there ensued a period of anarchy, pretender after pretender seizing the throne of the Pharaohs; until the last of Egypt's warrior kings, Rameses III of the Twentieth Dynasty, came to the throne after the vigorous but very brief rule of his father, Setnekht, in 1198.

When Rameses II and Mutallis were in the grip of their fifteen years' struggle, Shalmaneser I of Assyria (1276-1256 B.C.) had hopes of profiting at the expense of Hatti, but still refrained from an open challenge. Any projects of aggression were dashed by the great peace. The Hittite power was already dissolving; before the century was over it had passed away. Assyria, though independent, lies under a cloud. When the twelfth century opened, the old powers which still survived were in decline, and new forces hardly yet recognizable were coming into play; forces whose movements we can only now begin to chronicle.



THREE STAGES OF THE BATTLE OF KADESH

Rameses II, with the four divisions of his army strung apart in column of route, fell into a Hittite trap (1) and had his second division cut up. Most of his own division, encamped, was carried away in the panic (2), and only his personal bodyguard sustained the battle until the arrival of the third division (3).

For centuries past a high civilization had existed among the islanders of the eastern Mediterranean, having its principal center in Crete; it is conveniently known as Minoan. It had extended its penetration to the coasts of the Aegean till its primacy had passed from Cnossus to its offshoot Mycenae on the Greek mainland; but at the end of the thirteenth century it was being, or had already been, absorbed by the advance of Hellenic peoples, who spread through Greece and the islands, and presently penetrated the coastlands of Asia Minor. These folk we know under the name of the Achaeans from the Homeric sagas, the Iliad and the Odyssey; and their advent as conquerors or dynasty founders from the north, or at least from the north of Greece, now seems unquestionable. Whether they were the first 'Greeks' in Greece—indeed, whether they themselves were by origin 'Greeks' at all—is another question; but it is on the whole probable that the bulk of the people over whom the Minoan dynasts had ruled were already Hellenic in speech.

Kindred but not actually Hellenic peoples, inclusively known as Phrygians, had already entered Asia Minor from the west, crossing the Hellespont. The

undoubtedly historical siege of the city of Troy, probably about the beginning of the twelfth century, marks a stage in the contest between the expanding (Hellenic) Achaeans and the already established Phrygians, using the latter term in its widest sense.

This Greek or Hellenic expansion in the Aegean, and the Phrygian pressure in Asia Minor, forced upon the earlier dwellers in those regions movements which from this time bring them more and more into collision with the peoples that have hitherto monopolized the stage.

Such a movement was now taking place on a large scale. These peoples of Asia Minor, the 'Northmen' of the ancient world, had already for generations been sending out rover bands which vexed the coasts of Egypt, and a bigger movement had been heralded when a great pirate host joined with the Libyans, to be heavily repulsed by Merneptah (see above). Migratory bands from the west had probably much to do with the rapid decay of the Hittite power. These things were the precursors of the great Irruption of the Northerners.

Rameses III (1198-1167 B.C.) was king of Egypt when the storm broke. A great

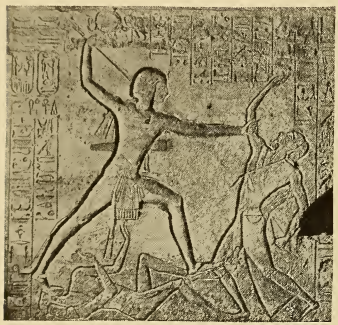
VIGOROUS REPRESENTATION OF INCIDENTS IN THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE VAINGLORIOUS RAMESES II.

In fact an indifferent general, though apparently possessing plenty of impetuous courage, Rameses II took an inordinate delight in commemorating, pictorially and otherwise, the details of his conquests. Although his successes do not appear to have been considerable, the records usually take the form of scenes of victory such as are included in this mural decoration (the two strips form a band in a Nubian temple). Rameses is shown slaying a Libyan, and charging Syrian foes in his chariot. Below, he is seen receiving prisoners—Libyans on this occasion.

Photos, Mansell

confederate host of the 'Peoples of the Sea' swooped upon the Delta, the Libyans joining them. Rameses met them in 1190 and smote them in a great fight by land and sea; but the peril was not yet over. The defeated fleet was only an advance force. The migrant hordes were even now streaming into Syria. Rameses was equal to the emergency. Somewhere on the Palestine coast he again caught and smote them by land and sea—a blow so shattering that Egypt was never again molested by them.

Rameses III delivered Egypt from the barbarian onslaught; but he could not save her from herself. It was her last



PHARAOH ENGAGES HIS FOE

Rameses II's personal prowess is beyond dispute, and the active part that he played in battle is shown by this spirited relief at Abu Simbel, representing him in the act of smiting a Libyan soldier with (apparently) his lance.

hour of glory. She was freed from foreign attack, but the rule of the land had passed into the hands of an organized priesthood of the most ruinous type. Rameses followed Rameses on the throne, each vying with his predecessor in the lavishness of his temple endowments, careless of aught else; till, in about 1094 B.C., Her-Heru or Hrihor, the high priest of Amen, assumed the title of Pharaoh, and the monarchy (Twenty-first Dynasty) became little more than a name.

In Asia the Egyptian sovereignty hardly survived even in name. The great victory of Rameses III did not prevent the Philistines from settling upon and mastering at least the plains of southern Palestine, where we find them at perpetual feud with the 'judges' of Israel. Beyond the Euphrates the sovereignty was divided between Assyria and Babylon, which collided whenever there arose in either a more than usually aggressive monarch; while Babylon, as of old, was subjected to occasional attacks from Elam.

The third ruler of the Isin dynasty, Nebuchadrezzar I (1146-1122 B.C.), was the first who displayed any marked energy. He inflicted severe chastisement on Elam, but suffered defeat in a conflict with the Assyrian Ashur-resh-ishi, who was probably the aggressor. The son of Ashur-resh-ishi, Tiglathpileser I, then embarked on a career of conquest. Twice he entered Babylon itself, now ruled by Marduk-nadin-akhe (d. 1100), the last Isin king of any vigor; he assumed the old title of 'king of Sumer and Akkad'; he seized all the western territories claimed by Babylon, and as much as still remained of the old Hittite dominion; he even penetrated the Taurus and hammered the former land of Hatti itself, claiming to have carried his conquest as far as the shores of the Black Sea; he asserted his sovereignty, which was promptly acknowledged, over the Phoenician cities.

Babylon and Elam next felt the weight of his hand before his brief but exceedingly vigorous thirteen years' reign ended in 1102. But he was not the founder of an Assyrian empire. For more than the next hundred years incompetent and lethargic monarchs or dynasties ruled or did not rule obscurely in Assyria and Babylonia. Nor did Egypt fare any better under the nominal government of sacerdotal Pharaohs.

Upheavals in the Syrian Area

During this paralysis of Egypt and Mesopotamia states were rising and falling in the great Syrian area, now set free from their long domination. The maritime cities of Phoenicia waxed in wealth, each under her own king, and the Philistine league established itself as a union of city states on the plain of southern Palestine, to which they gave their own name, Pulasati, permanently; subjecting the Canaanites, or driving the most unsubduable of them, the tribes of Israel, into the hills. Presently they set

about a serious attempt to conquer the hill-men, whose tribes scarcely possessed a common organization, though they had a bond of union in their unique religion and their tribal traditions.

Realization of the imperative need for a unity, attainable only through a supreme military chief, led the Hebrew clans to elect the Benjamite Saul as king; Saul led them to battle and won a great victory at Michmash, which drove the oppressor back to his own cities.

The Philistines, however, were not minded to retire after one rebuff. The war was renewed; Saul had not established national unity; the king was alarmed by the popularity of his most brilliant lieutenant, David, whose loyalty he repaid by treating him as a rebel. Deprived of his aid, Saul met his death at the hands of the Philistines at Mount Gilboa. But Israel rallied to David as the one possible saviour, and under David's leadership the supremacy of the Hebrew kingdom was decisively established, the Philistine power was shattered and the hostile encircling tribes were forced to become David's tributaries (c. 1000 B.C.). David's son Solomon, like his Phoenician neighbors, with whom he was on the best of terms, sought not imperial expansion but

HARD-FOUGHT NAVAL BATTLE THAT RESULTED IN AN EGYPTIAN VICTORY

The onslaughts of the so-called 'Peoples of the Sea,' among whom were the Achaeans, the Danaans and the Philistines, were met and repulsed by the last great warrior-Pharaoh, Rameses III. He defeated them on land and sea, and carvings at Medinet Habu record one of his triumphs, constituting the earliest historic representation of a naval engagement known. The drawing (bottom) shows the minute details of part of this remarkable historical record and above is a photograph of the rectangular portion of the carving marked in the drawing.

Photo, Mansell

material wealth; and the wealth accumulated under his long rule has become proverbial.

Disintegration of the Hebrew Kingdom

In the third generation, however (c. 935), the Hebrew kingdom broke up. The royal house of the south, closely associated as it was with the theocratic idea, had never commanded the unqualified allegiance of the north; it broke away from the feeble Rehoboam under the leadership of Jeroboam, a military chief who assumed the crown of Israel. The south, however, remained loyal to the house of David as the kingdom of Judah.

Meanwhile, something like a recovery took place in Egypt, where the Libyan Shashank (Shishak) established his supremacy and in 947 inaugurated the Twenty-second Dynasty; making his authority felt with such effect that on the disruption of Israel he was able to assert his nominal sovereignty so far as to invade Palestine and carry off considerable spoils.

Much more ominous were the signs that Assyria was on the point of throwing off her long lethargy with the accession of Adad-nirari II in 911 B.C.; a definite date which marks for the historians a new era by the Assyrian institution of an official chronicle in which events were recorded year by year, so that from this time it is possible to speak with unwonted precision.

KING OF BABYLON

Profiting perhaps by the absence of its ruler, Tiglath-pileser I, on a campaign, King Marduk-nadin-akhe of Babylon raided Assyria.

British Museum

Movements of the New Peoples

Finally, we must glance at the new ingredients in the melting-pot. By the eleventh century the Hellenic expansion had mastered the islands of the Aegean, and was making 'Aeolic' settlements on the coast of Asia Minor. In the century that followed there came from the north the migration or invasion of the last great group of Hellenes, the Dorians; as yet comparatively barbarous, but armed with the iron weapons which placed them at an advantage in conflicts with their bronze-bearing precursors. They were thus enabled to secure their supremacy in the Peloponnese and in Crete, and to penetrate Asia Minor, where they provided the states with dynasts of Dorian ancestry.

The eastward movement in Asia Minor corresponding to the pressure from the west was gradually consolidating in the center a Phrygian power, soon to be known in the east as Mushki. Beyond the mountains Iranians were massing in Media. The new peoples were not yet known as powers, but they had entered the stage.

THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE: ITS SPLENDOUR AND DECLINE

LIFE AND ART DURING THE CENTURIES IN WHICH EGYPT WON AND LOST HER IMPERIAL DOMINION

F. LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH, LL.D., F.B.A.

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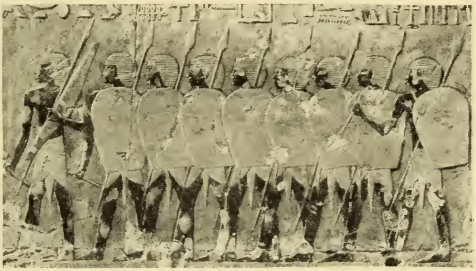
THE period now under consideration witnessed the formation of the first empire of which we have certain record—that of Egypt under the Theban Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the Eighteenth Dynasty we see the kings of Egypt not merely overrunning a large area in two continents, but also inducing the conquered lands to acknowledge their rule. From his capital at Thebes at the height of the Egyptian power the Pharaoh expected his commands to be obeyed by the princes of Kush as far away as the Fourth Cataract, distant eight hundred miles along the Nile, and by Syrian kinglets northeastwards more than a thousand miles to the Euphrates.

When the Kushite kingdom, centered at Kerma just beyond the Third Cataract, had been crushed by Amenhotep I, for some six hundred years the Nubian territory from the Egyptian frontier at the First Cataract southwards was governed by an Egyptian viceroy and largely administered by Egyptian officials. All the land paid tribute to the viceroy.

Forthwith the mixed Egyptian-Nubian civilization of Kerma was annihilated. Temples were built or burrowed out of rock to the Egyptian deities and to the reigning Pharaoh, and two of the proudest builders among the Pharaohs dedicated each a temple in Nubia to his favorite queen—Amenhotep III at Sedeinga to Tiyi, and Rameses II at Abu-Simbel, to Nefertari. But all the monuments are purely Egyptian, and so low was the vital energy of the natives that from the time when the resources of the Empire declined, aboriginal relics are completely absent.

Such was the Empire in Nubia, Egyptianizing the land and enriching Egypt with its products and its traffic. Of the Empire's state and extent in the Libyan desert we know little. It must have included the nearer oases but the wandering tribes were a menace to the Nile dwellers.

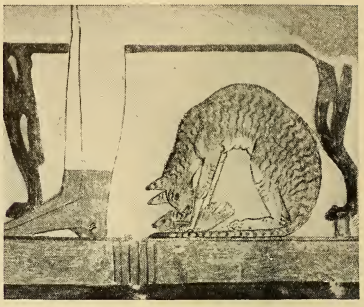


TROOPS THAT WON THE EMPIRE

This section of infantry under the command of an officer—part of Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt as sculptured in her temple at Deir el-Bahri—is typical of the native Egyptian levies before they became displaced by mercenary troops. Spear, small battle-axe and shield complete their military equipment.

Courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society

On the eastern side the land was richer and gold was comparatively plentiful. The Pharaohs also needed to keep open the routes to the ports on the Red Sea, whence ships sailed to collect frankin-



The painting on a sherd of a girl acrobat (left) shows in the flat the same freedom of line as the statuette of a slave below in the round; the date is Nineteenth Dynasty. The delightful study of a cat eating fish beneath its mistress's chair, occurring in the tomb of the astronomer Nakht (c. 1400), is one of the series of copies made from Egyptian tomb paintings.

Turin Museum and courtesy of Dr. A. H. Gardiner

Egyptian art never completely lost its conventionality, but during the Eighteenth Dynasty much of the formal rigidity of attitude was purged away. Some of the little statuettes especially show this; on the left is an exquisite study of a slave bearing a heavy pitcher. On the right is a Theban tomb painting of Queen Aahmes-nefertari (mother of Amenhotep I).

ART FREED FROM THE SHACKLES OF CONVENTION

Courtesy of Director of Free Public Museums, Liverpool, and British Museum

cense and other choice gums from the land of Punt. Punt seems to have included both the African coast of Abyssinia and Somaliland and the trading ports of South Arabia; the expedition which Queen Hatshepsut sent to Punt is celebrated in sculptures at Deir el-bahri.

At two points the Sinai peninsula had an attraction for the Pharaohs; first, the mines of malachite, turquoise and copper at Serabit and Magharah; secondly, the road along the Mediterranean which led from the Egyptian frontier fortress of Zaru into Palestine.

And this brings us to the Empire in the north-east, in Asia. After the Hyksos had been crushed, the small and disconnected communities of Palestine and Syria had little force to oppose to the trained soldiers of the Pharaohs; Amenhotep I and Thothmes (Thutmose) I successively marched as far as the Euphrates, the limit of the Empire in later days. The peaceful reigns of Thothmes II and Hatshepsut gave the Syrians an opportunity to organize, and the city of Kadesh became the center of united opposition to Egyptian interference.

Thothmes III had to proceed in annual campaigns to secure his hold. In the first campaign he captured Megiddo, but five more were necessary before he could seize Kadesh; at length he reached the Euphrates, took Carchemish and set up a tablet on the east bank of the river. Yet eight more campaigns were necessary to consolidate his conquests.

Capable of high civilization, these northern peoples were allowed to retain their native rulers under the Empire; but their sons were brought to Egypt as hostages and carefully educated, so that when the father died the son might return as an Egyptianized subject of Pharaoh. Thothmes III, the true builder of the Empire, originated this system.

Amenhotep III succeeded to magnificent peace, his empire holding together through the steady working of the original system. With Akhnaton's neglect the rule in Asia collapsed. It revived again, especially with the energetic action of Rameses II against the Hittites and his final alliance with them; but after that Egypt was merely one of several claimants and aspirants to rule or raid in Palestine and Syria.

During this period, as always, the backbone of the Egyptian population was the fellah. A tiller of the soil, he loved his own land and hated to be away from it. Yet the army that made the Empire con-

NUBIANS CIVILIZED BY THEIR MIGHTY NEIGHBOR

A fresco in the tomb at Tell el-Amarna of Huy, vizier to Tutankhamen, emphasizes the complete dependence of Nubia upon Egypt. The persons who are depicted coming to pay homage to Pharaoh are native Nubians, as their negroid cast of features indicates; but in all other respects—clothing, sandals, collars, chariot—they have become completely Egyptianized; only the draught-oxen and a certain barbarity of ornament—ostrich feathers, for instance—strike a foreign note.

From A. H. Gardiner, 'Tomb of Huy'

sisted of Egyptians fired with hatred of the Hyksos and enthusiasm for their victorious leaders. For the first time Egypt possessed a large standing army. There were sundry improvements in their equipment. Their spearheads and daggers were of bronze instead of copper, their arrowheads of bronze instead of flint, and even iron was occasionally seen in the hands of their officers. War chariots, too, formed an important section.

But after the first century and a half the places of the Egyptians were taken by mercenaries, recruited especially from the "Peoples of the Sea," dwellers on the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean and from the Libyan peoples. Sometimes the cry was raised to eject them but as the Egyptian government weakened, the soldiers became stronger, and apparently Libyan chiefs were the ancestors of most of the ruling dynasties after the Twentieth.

Egyptian ships, accustomed as they were to the Nile, could also overcome their enemies of the Peoples of the Sea on their own element, as is shown by the representation of a sea-fight in the time of Rameses III in which Egyptian archers from ships and shore are shown destroying their enemies the Philistines.

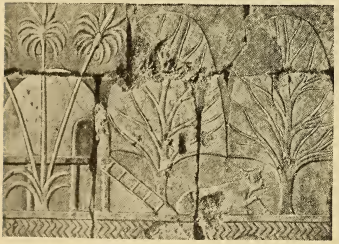
As for the common soldier, exiled and constantly in trouble with the enemy and with his own superiors, his lot was hard. The higher officers, on the other hand, must have found their experiences abroad full of interest. Many must not only have learnt the geography and the military features of the lands they traversed, but also have acquired knowledge of their natural products, their arts and crafts and languages.

King Thothmes III had drawings made

PICTORIAL AND REAL

A good representation of the Egyptian chariot in use is given on this stele from Tell el-Amarna. Actual specimens also exist, such as that of Iuaa (top), the grandfather of Akhnaton.

From Davis, 'Tomb of Iouiya' and Davies, 'Rock Tombs of El Amarna (Egypt Exploration Society)



IN EGYPT'S 'FARTHEST SOUTH'

The sort of country which Hatshepsut's expedition found leaves no doubt that Punt must have been at least as far south as Somaliland. Note the typical negro hut, dome-shaped and standing on a platform.

From Schäfer, 'Kunst des Alten Orients'

of the strange plants of the north-east, and these were afterwards reproduced in sculpture in the temple of Karnak. Examples of the domestic fowl "which laid an egg every day" were brought home by him from Mesopotamia; but they remained a rarity in Egypt until after the close of our period. The Hyksos rule conferred at least one benefit—it introduced the horse and chariot. The horse was rarely ridden, nor was it used as a beast of burden. The camel was still practically unknown.

Tell el-Amarna offers the only comprehensive illustration of how a great city was laid out by the Egyptians in the time of the Empire. Here we have the ruins of the royal city itself, hastily built by Akhnaton, and hastily deserted. Here, as nowhere else in Egypt, we can trace the plans of its palaces, houses and villas. They were built in sun-dried brick and so have survived. The materials of its temples were too valuable to be left to natural decay.

The site chosen by Akhnaton for his new capital, named Akhetaton, was on the east bank of the Nile with a narrow fringe of cultivated land in front and a broad stretch of rich fields across the river. Begun in the king's sixth year, palaces, temples, government offices, workshops, villas and meaner dwellings grew apace; a broad open area in the middle of the front served as a market-place. The city bordered the cultivated area for about two miles at the outer edge of a deep desert bay; along the top of the cliffs were patrol paths and guard houses, and at either end of the bay were small settlements guarding the approaches.

EMPIRE OF THE PHARAOHS

From the Fourth Cataract in the south to the banks of the Euphrates Pharaoh's word was law during the heyday of the Egyptian Empire; but while Nubia was absorbed entire, Syria retained its native princes.

The principal palace was at the north end of the city, the other two at points halfway between the city and the north and south ends of the bay respectively. The north end was monopolized by state buildings. The great palace lay between the main road and the river; on the east side of the road the chief Aton temple bounded the city on the north, and opposite the palace lay the government offices and a second temple. One of the archive chambers contained, when found in 1886, the "Letters of Tell el-Amarna" addressed to Pharaoh by the governors in Syria and Palestine and the

great kings of Babylonia, Assyria and Mitanni.

It is difficult to detect any logical grouping apart from this. The house of the prime minister, a mansion of thirty rooms, was at the opposite end of the city from the great palace; those of other great officials were on the outskirts and in the crowded parts of the town, and the house of Pawah, the Chief Priest of the Aton, lay nearly two miles away from the chief temple. A great corn store was built east of the town.

In the cliffs, at two points far behind the city, tombs were prepared, and on a desert slope between were built tomb-chapels. In strong contrast to the confused growth of the town, a village near these chapels was laid out for the workmen and guards of the necropolis. Seventy-two little houses of four rooms each, in straight streets, held the men and their families, besides one larger house for their superintendent, and an open

EARLIEST DRAWING OF A COCK

Not until Thothmes III brought some back from one of his Syrian campaigns was there any knowledge of domestic fowls in Egypt. This, the earliest known drawing of a cock, comes from an 18th Dynasty tomb.

British Museum, Natural History

TEMPLE COURT BUILT BY EGYPT'S 'ROI SOLEIL'

At Luxor are the remains of the great temple built by Amenhotep III in honor of the Theban triad—Amen, his wife Mut and their son Khons, the moon god. The great columns of the colonnade and temple portico (right) represent clusters of papyrus reeds, with papyrus buds as their capitals.

Courtesy of Sir Flinders Petrie

place for animals. All was contained within an enclosure wall, easily surveyed by patrols. Evidently the men were subject to strict discipline, as befitted those entrusted with the secrets of the tombs with their priceless furnishings. Their lot cannot have been very happy. In summer the heat must have been oppressive, there was no green thing to relieve the eye, and even the water supply must have been far-distant.

At Thebes the corresponding settlement was situated on the rocky slopes above the cultivation at Deir el-Medina, but within easy reach of well-water and close to temples and pleasant groves. In the flourishing time of the Empire the workmen were extremely prosperous; but hard times came under the weaklings of the Twentieth Dynasty. The royal treasury and granaries were empty; the crowd at times would refuse to work until corn was forthcoming.

The palaces in their great enclosures comprised pools or lakes, groves of trees and various buildings. Kiosks and shrines, stables, stalls and kennels for domestic animals can be recognized. The materials were principally crude brick, while doorways and other details were of stone. The women's quarters formed a separate part of each palace, and were more elegantly decorated.

From scenes depicted in the Theban tombs we learn that Pharaoh at an earlier date gave audience or received tribute enthroned like a god in a shrine, probably in an open court or great hall; but Amenhotep III introduced a change. In addition to the hall of audience he utilized the great loggia windows or balconies looking over the courtyards. At one of these, according to the season, he made his semi-public appearance on great occasions, standing or leaning out to inspect the gifts of embassies and to receive homage or distribute rewards. This became the established custom with Akhnaton.

Some of the principal houses at Tell el-Amarna, though contemptible enough by the side of the vast royal palaces,

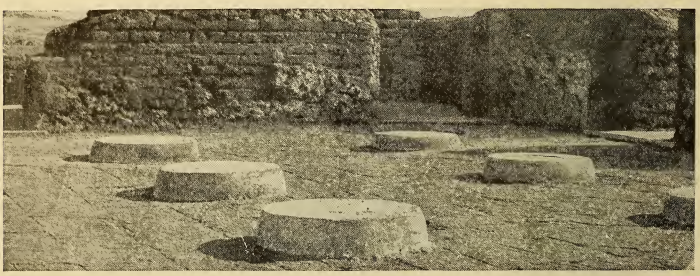
TO THE GLORY OF AMEN: EGYPT'S GREATEST TEMPLE

The Temple of Amen at Karnak (Thebes) was not the work of a single period, but received continual additions from the Twelfth Dynasty (c. 2000 B.C.) to the time of the Ptolemies (c. 200 B.C.). This restoration is of the central part of the gigantic Hypostyle Hall erected by Seti I and Rameses II. The vast columns with calyx-capitals are nearly 70 feet high and 33 feet round; the lower columns with bud-captials, some 43 feet high.

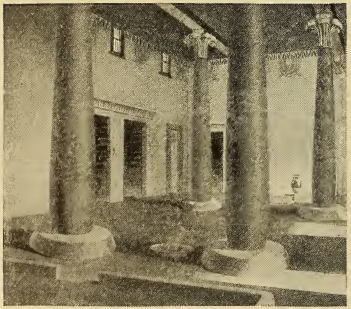
Metropolitan Museum, New York

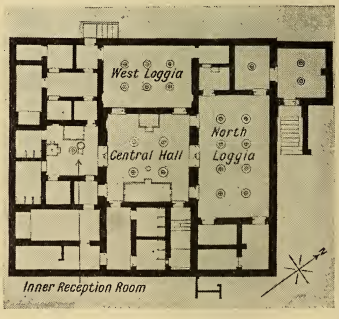
consisted of from fifteen to thirty rooms. They were solidly built, and were surrounded by large enclosures and outbuildings. Most were raised above the ground level, the entrance door being reached by broad and shallow steps. The approach ran along one side of the house beneath a loggia window from which business could be transacted. The main entrance was sometimes of stone sculptured with the name and titles of the owner. The ordinary windows were small and set just under the roof.

In the center of the house was the principal reception room. Its walls were carried higher than the rest to obtain space for outer windows; inside, the walls were varied by one or two niches, and painted red and orange; the roof was supported by wooden columns on stone bases, and at one side was a dais for the master and mistress. A porter's lodge, bed chambers, harem quarters and lavatories can be distinguished, and rooms for cooking, and there was a staircase to the roof, but apparently no upper floor.



Here are seen the pillar-bases of the north loggia. Its mud-brick walls were whitewashed, but relieved by a frieze of blue lotus petals on a green ground surmounted by a red band. Indeed, the walls throughout were plain, but stone door-jambs were often picked out in brilliant colors.

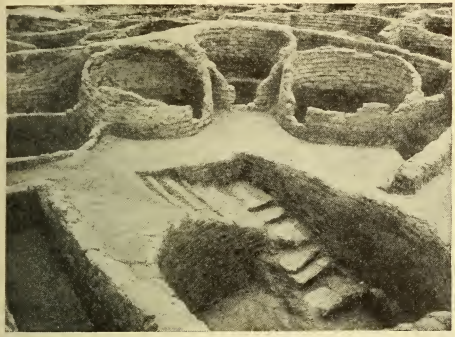


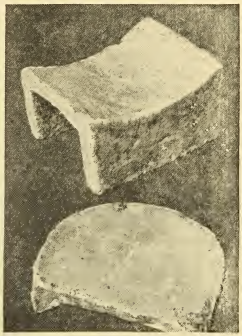


The roof of the central hall in Nakht's house was supported on four wooden columns, whose stone bases are still in position, and fragments show that it was painted a vivid blue. A brick divan occupied most of one wall, with a stone slab for lustrations in the wall opposite.

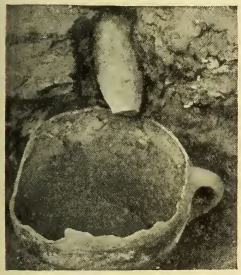
MANSION OF A PHARAOH'S VIZIER AT AKHETATON

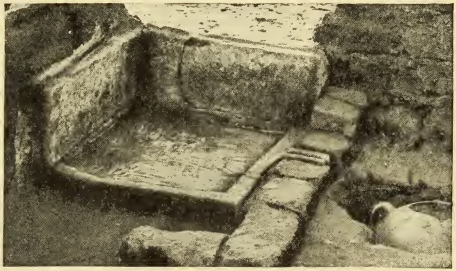
From 'The City of Akhenaten,' Egypt Exploration Society



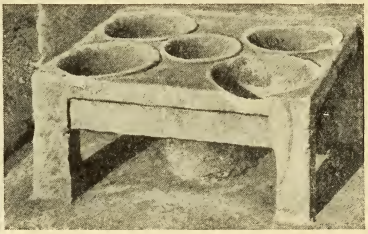


The granaries of Akhetaton were circular brick bins sunk slightly in the ground, probably domed and with a hole in the roof. The stone seats on the right came from the workmen's village (see page 330), and are surprisingly comfortable.





Most of the prosperous houses in Akhetaton had their bathroom (right); this contained what was not so much a bath as a stone slab on which the master stood while a slave poured water over him. The water escaped by a runnel into a sump from which it was afterwards baled. Left, a drain.



Much of the daily life in Akhetaton can be deduced from an examination of the private houses, and one can often tell the uses of particular rooms by their contents. In the living rooms there would be a circular depression for a brazier, which was sometimes portable, sometimes, as in the example on the left, cemented in place; the fuel was usually charcoal. In the central hall there might be a stand to hold jars of water (right), for drinking as well as for washing.

DOMESTIC DETAILS OF EGYPTIAN DWELLING HOUSES

From 'The City of Akhenaten,' Egypt Exploration Society

The materials for the platform on which the house stood and for the bricks of which the house was built were dug on the spot, and in the excavation which resulted a well was easily made. Good soil was then brought for trees to be planted inside the house enclosures on the full desert.

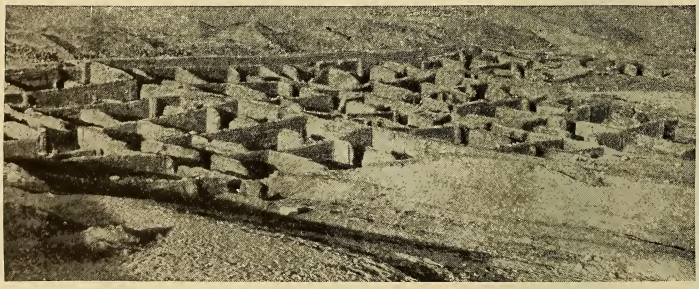
Establishments of sculptors and smaller workshops of glass-makers and leather workers have been recognized. There seems to have been a rage for making finger-rings, beads, pendants and other ornaments in glazed ware of many colors, the moulds being found in every house and hut. A factory for the moulds was in the market-place.

USED AGAIN AFTER 3,300 YEARS

In the workmen's village the debris of daily life came to light in great profusion. These modern Egyptians are using nothing that is not ancient in the attempt to recreate the past: charcoal pounder, mortar and wooden pestle for grain, floor-besom—even the charcoal and the grain themselves!

Not much can be said of the furnishing at Tell el-Amarna, for virtually all has perished. From the tomb of Tutankhamen we learn much as to the furniture and equipment of a palace, but at Tell el-Amarna are found such articles of little value as could resist occasional dampness and white ants. Among these are stands for ablutions and low tripod stools of stone, and quantities of pottery, wine jars labelled with the vintage, the estate and the name of the chief husbandman; jars of preserved meats or of oil, all with details written outside. Large jars were often sunk in the floors as receptacles for food, etc.

Frequently articles of some value were



WHERE THE WORKMEN DWELT WHO QUARRIED THE TOMBS

Far out towards the cliffs that contained the rock tombs of Akhetaton's noblemen lay the village of the workmen who quarried them. It was a barrack-like place enclosed within a strong wall—the quarrymen were rough folk who needed guarding—but the houses, in spite of their smallness and uniformity of plan, were not uncomfortable. They contained four rooms—front room (shared with domestic animals), living-room, bedroom and kitchen—and a staircase leading to the roof.

From 'The City of Akhenaten,' Egypt Exploration Society

hidden temporarily in the sand against the inside walls; in one case, three precious glass vases so hidden were covered over by a second flooring during "alterations," and were revealed only by the clearance of the Egypt Exploration Society. Many houses possessed a special

DELICATE GLASSWORK

Under the Eighteenth Dynasty of imperial Egypt, glass, opaque and cast over a mould by dipping, was put to delicate use, as shown by this bottle—fish-shaped. The variegation was produced by threads and bars of different colors laid on and softened by heating.

Courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society

safe in the shape of a pit beneath the floor, closed by a stone slab. To warm the chief reception room, a fire-pan for charcoal was sunk in the floor, near the dais.

The ancient Egyptians were extraordinarily skilled in many crafts. We may well marvel at their power of transporting monuments, weighing up to a thousand tons, of raising obelisks to the vertical on a narrow basis, all without engineering tackle, and of decorating the walls of cavern-tombs with fine paintings. These wonders, indeed, have found their explanation in the last few years. But their limitations are almost as surprising. The examination of endless mummies and skeletons has revealed no trace of surgical operations beyond the application of splints to broken limbs. Stopping of teeth was unknown, and even of extraction there is no tangible evidence. Egyptian teeth were generally healthy, but amongst the rich dental trouble arose and we can discern from the mummy of Amenhotep III that he suffered from toothache in his later years, and apparently no relief was attempted.

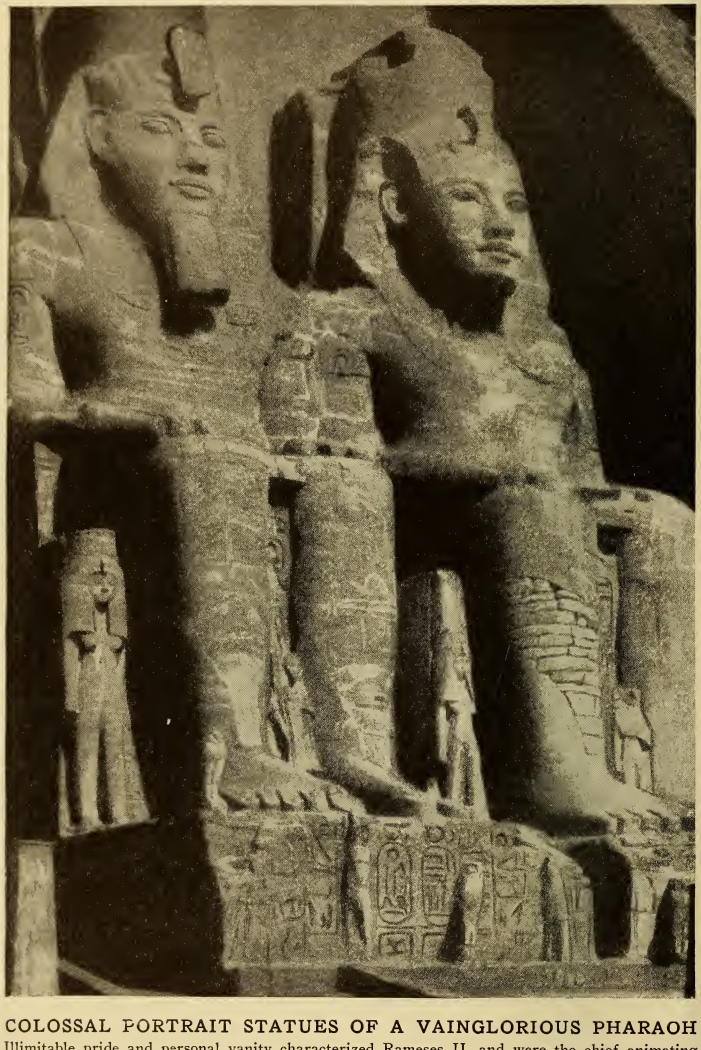
Under the Empire mummification began to come within the reach of quite humble people. The costly preservation of the bodies of royalties attained the highest level under Seti I, while the making of a life-like mummy without regard to the preservation of the tissues, the aim of the Egyptian embalmers, was most successfully accomplished in the Twenty-first Dynasty.

More generally useful arts also advanced. Whereas in the Middle Kingdom the metal worker employed young men to blow up the furnace with their lungs through reeds, in the Eighteenth Dynasty he used a short blowpipe in his own mouth only on fine work. On coarser work he set an assistant to fill with air and empty a pair of bladders into a bellows-pipe, treading them down alter-

TELLING OF VICTORY

Obelisks were monuments, mainly triumphal in intention, standing usually in pairs before the gates of a temple. These are the survivors of two distinct pairs set up in the Great Temple at Karnak (Thebes)—that on the left by Thothmes I (reinscribed by Rameses II), that on the right by Hatshepsut.

Photo, Gaddis & Seif



COLOSSAL PORTRAIT STATUES OF A VAINGLORIOUS PHARAOH

Illimitable pride and personal vanity characterized Rameses II, and were the chief animating motive behind the grandiose schemes of conquest and empire that make his reign notable in the brilliant period of the Nineteenth Dynasty. They are reflected in the four colossal figures representing him enthroned, each 65 feet high and the largest sculptured figures in Egypt, carved on the façade of the vast temple of Ra that he caused to be hewn out of the sandstone cliff beside the Nile at Abu Simbel in Nubia.

nately with each foot and raising them again by a string in each hand. Glass, too, was a recent invention, and was used for ornamental vessels in varied colors. The earliest datable specimen bears the name of Thothmes III.

Glass was largely used for ornamental inlays, and sometimes for statuettes. At the palaces of Amenhotep III and Akhnaton glass was very fashionable. The glass vessels were opaque with a brilliant exterior surface, the interior rough from contact with the gritty mould; in open cups and platters this could be ground and polished away, but in bottles the roughness had to remain. Blown glass did not appear till about the time of the Roman Empire.

Bronze was now the regular material for tools and weapons. Iron was already employed, although iron tools and weapons were rare and costly. Flint was scarcely used.

EGYPTIAN TREATMENT OF THE DEAD

The art of mummification, hitherto a process of doubtful success, reached its high-water mark during the Empire. Left, the human-shaped coffin (of a priestess) in which the mummy was placed; right, a coffin with the lid removed to show the mummy within. The whole, except among the poor, was usually placed in a stone or wood sarcophagus.

Left, British Museum; right, British School of Archaeology in Egypt

Trade was carried on by barter; there was still no currency; but exchange by weight of metal was recognized, and goods of all kinds could be valued on a metal standard, as had been done even in the Old Kingdom. The balances showed an improvement; the scalepans, which used to swing high on short cords, now almost touched the table.

For measuring time, one Amenemhet, living at Thebes in the reign of Amenhotep I, invented or improved a water-clock in the form of a bowl with graduated scales of hours for the separate months. A fine specimen in alabaster survives from the reign of Amenhotep III.

Early in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple building began to be on a vaster scale than at any other period; walls that earlier builders might have left in crude brick were replaced by fine limestone, alabaster and even granite. The immensity of the works undertaken, however, led the kings to employ Libyan sandstone throughout in Upper Egypt and Nubia, where this rock abounded. It was easily worked but of too coarse a grain for fine sculpture; granite, quartzite and the choicer kinds of stone were reserved for doorways and for shrines, obelisks and statues.

Amenhotep III added enormously to the Theban temples; on the east bank southward from the temple of Amen at Karnak he founded a temple for Mut,

the consort of Amen, and he built a new temple to Amen at Luxor. The temple of the god Khensu (Chons), the third member of the Theban triad, dated originally from the same reign, though it was rebuilt in the Twentieth Dynasty; and farther north was a large temple of Mont, the war god of Hermonthis. On the west bank the colossi of Memnon are the last remains of a vast funerary temple of the same king. It is strange that so magnificent a builder should not have scrupled to break up the beautiful alabaster works dedicated to Amen by his ancestor Amenhotep I, and cast them into the foundations of a new pylon.

Rameses II outrivalled Amenhotep III in temple building and in destruction or usurpation of earlier work. He and his immediate predecessors of the Nineteenth Dynasty erected the great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak, with its forest of columns, and his colossi at Tanis and in the Rameseum at Thebes exceed all others in size.

Egyptian artists rivalled each other in delicacy of workmanship. The small sculptures in wood and stone of the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty are exquisite.

WHAT THE SCULPTOR'S WORKSHOP PRODUCED IN THE DAYS OF THE EMPIRE

The two seated pieces—the mother of Thothmes III and a Nineteenth Dynasty state official with his wife—are chiefly of interest as showing styles of clothing. The prosperity of the Empire brought with it a fashion for fine linen from neck to ankle instead of the kirtle of earlier days; while the wigs were truly 'full-bottomed.' Right, an Eighteenth Dynasty statuette in wood.

British and Berlin Museums

When the guests had assembled, the unmarried folk evidently kept to themselves, for elsewhere in this fresco we see separate groups of maidens and bachelors; those shown are the married couples. Slaves wait on them, while the ladies carry lotus flowers which they smell from time to time.

All sorts of entertainment were provided for the company, and we know that any novelty, such as a dwarf from Nubia, was eagerly sought for; but music and dancing were the stock resources. Notice the elaborate garments of these musicians, characteristic of the luxury under the Empire.

LUXURY AND REFINEMENT OF AN EGYPTIAN PARTY

British Museum

The attitudes and actions are no longer fixed by tradition; we have studies of a young girl gathering lotuses or a slave carrying a pitcher. The highest level of spiritualized portraiture is attained in the head and neck of Nefertiti, queen of Akhnaton, which was kept as a model in the workshop of the sculptor Thothemes at Tell el-Amarna and is now in the Berlin Museum.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty wall decoration was in great demand. It made no progress whatever towards perspective; but in the palaces of Amenhotep III and Akhnaton walls and floors too were painted with flowers and birds and animals in their natural surroundings, and use was made of inlays in faience and hard stone delicately sculptured and engraved.

In literature the Empire is not very distinguished. Asiatic wars produced the story of how Thuti, a general of King Thothmes III, captured Joppa by a ruse, introducing armed men in jars. The feats of Rameses II at the battle of Kadesh were celebrated in a poem engraved and illustrated on many of his temples. Much writing was concerned with the education of scribes, chiefly commending diligence and avoidance of the snares of youth.

Probably dating from the end of our

period, when Egypt had been humbled is the Teaching of Amenophis. This composition is cast in a poetical form of couplets and strophes and is divided into chapters. Its sentiments and even its wording agree in many places with parts of the Biblical Book of Proverbs.

Besides Ra, the sun god, the deity most frequently mentioned in the "Teaching" is Thoth, the moon god, patron of scribes and divine recorder; but "God" without qualification is constantly in the mouth of Amenophis. To him the ideal person is the "tranquil" and contented as opposed to the "heated," ambitious man.

A conspicuous characteristic of Egyptian religion is the way in which it attempts to bind supernatural forces to the will of Man by magic formulae and ritual acts. The Egyptian had a very respectable code of morality, but his practice fell far below the ideal. As in life he would conceal his wrongful acts and assert his innocence stoutly if accused, so when he was led to judgment

LATE EMPIRE CARVING

Although all memory of the heretic Akhnaton was banned, the art of his period left its mark. These three heads of mourners in a funerary procession (Nineteenth Dynasty, from Memphis) betray much of the naturalism that he loved.

Berlin Museum

SMALLER NORTHERN TEMPLE AT ABU-SIMBEL DEDICATED TO HATHOR AND NEFERTARI

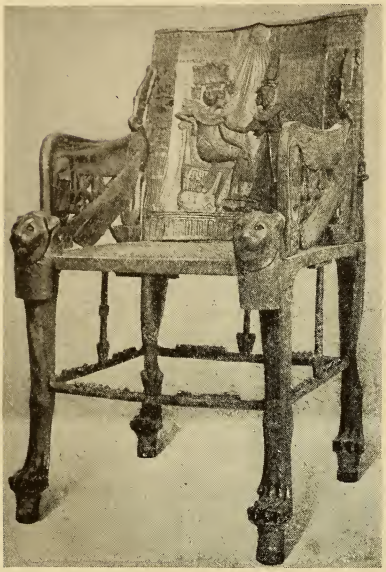
To the north of the Great Temple of Abu-Simbel is a smaller one, dedicated to Hathor, in which Nefertari, wife of Rameses, plays the same part in relation to the gods as her husband in the larger temple. The façade, here illustrated, is made even more to resemble a pylon, with 33-foot figures representing Rameses and Nefertari standing in niches.

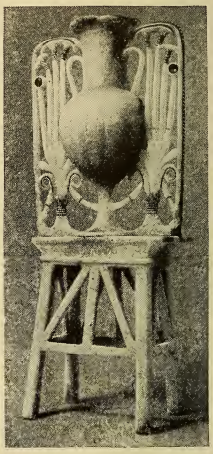
In this tomb painting, of the same period as the one below, the interest is pastoral. A large herd of cattle is about to be penned, but first (upper register) it must be sedulously numbered by the scribe—one of the herdsmen is seen kissing his feet. Underneath, the herd has been divided into groups of five. These scenes are not in relief, but painted on a thin layer of plaster.

In spite of a certain sameness about the subjects selected for tomb decoration throughout the whole of Egyptian history, the slightest inspection serves to distinguish Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Empire technique. There is a softness and elaboration about these Eighteenth Dynasty pieces as compared with earlier work, but at the same time a loss of balance and incisiveness. Above we see two chariots and a bailiff tasting corn.

AGRICULTURAL SCENES PAINTED BY A THEBAN ARTIST

British Museum





TREASURES FROM THE TOMB OF THE BOY KING TUTANKHAMEN

The revelation of the kingly treasures of Tutankhamen's tomb in the years following 1922 shed a rich light on the sumptuousness of Egyptian court furniture. Above are a striking white alabaster vase and a gold dagger. Outshining them all was the gorgeous throne, on whose back of sheet gold Tutankhamen, in carnelian, red glass, silver and faïence, is being anointed by his wife—a relic of the day of Akhetaton.

From Howard Carter, 'The Tomb of Tutankhamen' Vols. I and II

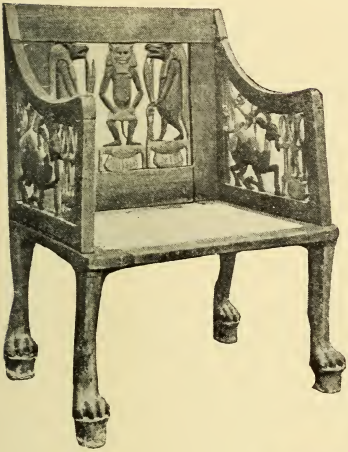
before Osiris, he sought to pass the examination by a Declaration of Innocence (the Negative Confession), and to restrain his heart from adverse disclosures by pronouncing a long formula.

Until the Nineteenth Dynasty, in fact, we do not find any trace of an Egyptian taking a god into his confidence, confessing and asking forgiveness. But there is a collection of tablets of that period, in small temples on the west bank of Thebes, wherein some approach is made to this attitude. A god has afflicted a man, who recognizes that the affliction is in consequence of sin against the god; he propitiates the god, the god shows mercy and the man dedicates a tablet.

Here the gods in question are local, and the dedicators belong to the lower classes, workers and priests in the necropolis. With the upper classes no such public confession of sin and forgiveness has come down to us. It has even been claimed that the influence of foreign religious thought, more particularly of Semitic religion can be detected in this attitude. But, after all, it might rather seem to be the confession of sin extracted by divine punishment aided perhaps by priestly pressure.

During the Empire the priesthood was enormously developed. At the same time the priestly caste became more distinctly marked off from the laity. Processions of bare-headed priests carrying the shrine of the deity are frequent in temple sculpture from the Nineteenth Dynasty onward.

Few legal documents survive from the period now treated. So also we know



CONTENTS OF A TOMB THAT WAS FURNISHED LIKE AN EARTHLY HOME

A discovery scarcely less informative on the subject of Egyptian furniture than the tomb of Tutankhamen was that of Iuaa and Tuaa, parents of the queen of Amenhotep III; opened in 1905, it revealed a wealth of objects such as these. The coffer is inlaid with gold, blue faïence, ebony and stained ivory; the chair has its openwork back carved in the form of the god Bes and the hippopotamus goddess Taurt.

From Theodore Davis, 'Tomb of Iouiya,' and British Museum

nothing of the formalities of marriage. But more than one royal decree has come down to us prohibiting certain acts of violence and injustice or making regulations against commandeering or otherwise interfering with the property and servants of certain temples. Punishment varies from a bastinado of a hundred blows and opening five wounds in the body of the offender to cutting off his nose and transporting him to the desert frontier at Sile.

The administration of criminal law is illustrated by reports of the trials of thieves who plundered royal and other tombs in the Theban necropolis towards the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, and of a harem conspiracy against the life of King Rameses III. The examination of suspected persons was carried out by "beating on their hands and feet."

THE EMPIRE OF THE HITTITES

DESCRIBING THE ONLY PERIOD IN THREE THOUSAND YEARS WHEN ASIA MINOR HAS BEEN A CENTER OF IMPERIAL POWER

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THE Old Testament, till recently our sole source of information about the ancient history of the Near East, tells little of the Hittites. They occur frequently as one of the peoples in possession of parts of Canaan before the Israelites, and in the story of Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah from the "sons of Heth" are associated with Hebron. Only from the mention of the "kings of the Hittites and the kings of the Egyptians," in ii Kings, 7, 6, could one conclude that they had played any part in history.

Our first additional evidence came from Egyptian inscriptions, followed closely by the annals of the Assyrian kings, both of which sources locate the "Kheta" or "Hatti" in north Syria. From this it was natural to ascribe to the Hittites the stamp-seals, stone reliefs and rock-carvings, sometimes accompanied by pictographic script, which had been coming to light from northern Syria and Asia Minor; and the conception of the Hittites as a north Syrian people, spreading into Anatolia, with their own civilization, began to gain acceptance.

Meanwhile at Boghaz Keui, a village of northern Asia Minor, the remains of which had already attracted notice, some peasants had discovered fragments of cuneiform tablets. In 1906 thousands of tablets were unearthed, the majority in a language till then known only from the two "Arzawa" letters from Amarna; but many were in Semitic Accadian, and from them it was learnt that this city was the capital of the "land of Hatti" and that the tablets formed the archives of its kings. The small states of Syria called "Hatti" by the Assyrians are now known to have been but the shattered remnants of the Hittite empire which was annihilated in Anatolia in about 1200 B.C.

The cuneiform Hittite language (formerly known as "Arzawan") has yielded up its secrets; its grammar and morphology and much of its vocabulary are Indo-European; and we can now trace the history of the kingdom of Hatti, from its beginnings to its expansion into an empire and its final collapse before tribal migrations from the West.

The Indo-Europeans, whose creation the kingdom of Hatti was, appear to have entered eastern Asia Minor from Europe about 2000 B.C. To call them Hittites at this stage would be incorrect, for they took over the name of Hatti from the indigenous inhabitants, whose language, known to the Hittites as "Hattic," is unrelated to Indo-European and more closely allied to the Caucasian group. It is, therefore, convenient to reserve the name Hatti (in an ethnical sense) for this people, and to use the term Hittite for a citizen of the Hittite empire. The Hattic language was gradually superseded by the language of the conquerors, and in the imperial age it survived only in the cults of certain Hattic deities. The Indo-European language thus gains the right to be called "Hittite," though the name by which it was known to the Hittites themselves is still a matter of dispute.

In the earliest Hittite records the land appears divided into independent city states, each apparently ruled by a prince of the European stock. The lead was early taken by the dynasty of Kussar, whose king Anitta conquered several cities, including Nesa, perhaps the classical Nyssa, to which he transferred his capital. Nesa apparently remained the capital for some generations, during which —notably under Labarna, later regarded as the founder of the dynasty—the kingdom was extended from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean; and it was not till

WHERE STOOD HATTUSAS, ANCIENT CAPITAL OF THE HITTITES

This view over the site of Hattusas, ancient capital of the tribe of Hatti and later of the Hittite imperial dynasty, carries the eye in a northerly direction towards its greatest palace-temple and the modern village of Boghaz Keui. To the left may be distinguished the debouchment of the ravine guarding it on the west; there is another on the east. The ruined foundations are those of the palace-temple, while in the long trench in front of the bell tent were unearthed those tablets of the royal archives from which so much of the Hittite story has been of late years recovered.

Photo, Professor Garstang

the time of Hattusili I or his son Mursili that the capital was transferred to Hattusas.

The Turkish name Boghaz Keui, meaning the "village of the gorge," suggests the site of Hattusas. Defended by ravines and by rocks with precipitous scarps, the position was naturally a strong one. The keynote of the site is its defensibility, amplified by the difficulty and roughness of its approaches. It would seem to have been more suitable for a brigands' retreat or the headquarters of a raiding tribal chief, and such, indeed, was probably its origin.

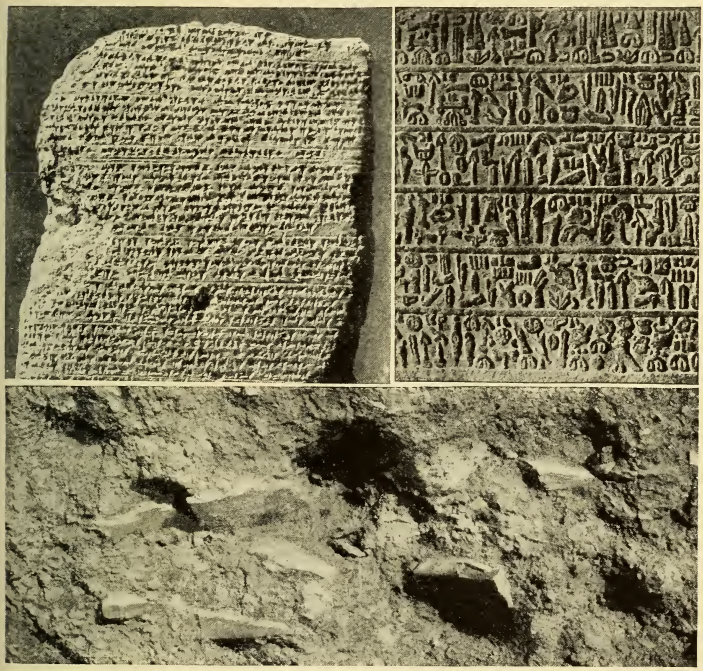
Its geographical position was a potent factor in its destiny. Hattusas was, in fact, at the focus of a radiating web of natural lines of communication, on which, towards the east and south, the road centers, Amasia, Sivas, Mazaca-Caesarea, Tyana and Konia, form a first circle of strategic centers. These are connected by transverse roads, while the radiating lines lead beyond them to their respective strategic objectives. These routes and their connections presented all the elements of a perfect system of military communications to the kings ruling in Hattusas.

From the time when the ancestors of the Hittite line established the capital at Hattusas the strategic advantage of the new center gave further strength to their arms. Almost at once king Mursili I descended upon Aleppo, and sent back

rich booty. He pushed on boldly to Babylon, which he captured, overturning the first dynasty that had reigned from there over Babylonia as a whole. The dynasty was that in which Hammurabi figures, and the date of this event must lie between 1950 and 1750 B.C.

Older Babylonian legend claims that Sargon of Agade had penetrated into Asia Minor and gained a victory over its tribes; the kings of Hatti are named in these earliest records. But that was before the Indo-European Hittites had constituted themselves leaders over the native population. This was, so far as we know, the first occasion on which these rulers had come into contact with Babylonia. It was, therefore, most probably on this expedition that they learnt about the cuneiform script, and they may have brought back scribes to teach this art.

The internal organization of the Hittite kingdom had not yet reached a stage which would enable it to stand the strain of such an adventure. The absence of the king was the beginning of more than a century of court intrigues and murders. It is, therefore, surprising to find Telep-

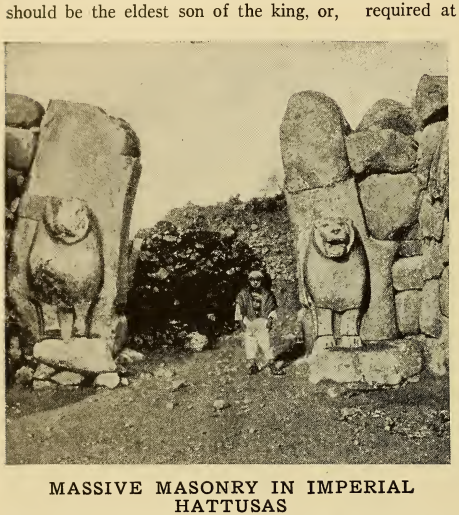


READ AND UNREAD SCRIPTS OF THE HITTITES

Two methods of writing were practised by the Hittites—their own peculiar hieroglyphic system and the international cuneiform of Babylonia. The former remains undeciphered; but luckily it achieved popularity rather late, so that the state archives of the important imperial phase—above we see the tablets as they were actually discovered—were kept in a legible script. Top left, a cuneiform tablet and (right) a door-jamb from Carchemish covered with hieroglyphs.

Lower photo, Professor Garstang and (top right) British Museum

inu, the king with whom this period ends, still claiming control of Damascus—if that is the correct interpretation of "Damaskhunas." Telepinu is notable for the promulgation of a constitution intended to put an end to the unhappy events of the previous century. It was decreed that the successor to the throne should be the eldest son of the king, or, in default of a son, the husband of a daughter.



MASSIVE MASONRY IN IMPERIAL HATTUSAS

The oldest fortification of Hattusas that can be traced is an earth ramp covering the southern approach; later this was crowned by walls, and even the brinks of the ravines were lined with cyclopean blocks. Interlocking masonry is a special feature of the great palace-temple. This photograph shows the two lions that flank a gateway to the royal city.

Photo, Professor Garstang

It must have been at about this time that the laws were codified. This code, though owing much to Eastern civilizations, is characterized by a humanity which distinguish it sharply from the code of Hammurabi, and still more from that of Assyria. The two tablets we possess cannot represent the complete code, but the light they throw on Hittite society is so great that we may pause to consider these and other inscriptions of the Old Empire.

Hittite society was feudal throughout. The community was divided into two classes: the slaves, who had no political status, and may have been originally prisoners of war; and the freemen, who were owners of property in return for services due to the king. All properties were held primarily from the king on terms of military or personal service; or the service might be given in some trade required at the palace, or in cultivation of the royal domains. In return the king guaranteed the vassal his position, and undertook to secure the succession of his appointed heir.

The king was civil ruler, active head of the army, and chief priest. Foreign affairs and imperial diplomacy would appear to have been royal duties to which certain Hittite kings gave personal attention. This becomes especially clear in the later period, when through three successive reigns, during which the menace of Egypt, the disruption of Mitanni and the rise of Assyria were successive problems, a continuity of policy may be traced.

During the early period the king's constitutional position stands in sharp contrast to the typical Oriental monarchy. The ultimate power is apparently in the hands of an assembly (Hittite *pankus*) consisting of the "totality of the warriors" and the "important people." The king's authority not only depends largely on the concurrence of his kinsmen but is actually received from the assembly; and though he can designate his successor, this designation cannot come into force without their ratification. The pankus is also the supreme court of jurisdiction, to the ruling of which even the king has to submit. This conception of royalty recalls certain features in the Homeric kingdom, and was most probably due to the traditions which both these groups of Indo-Europeans brought from their common home.

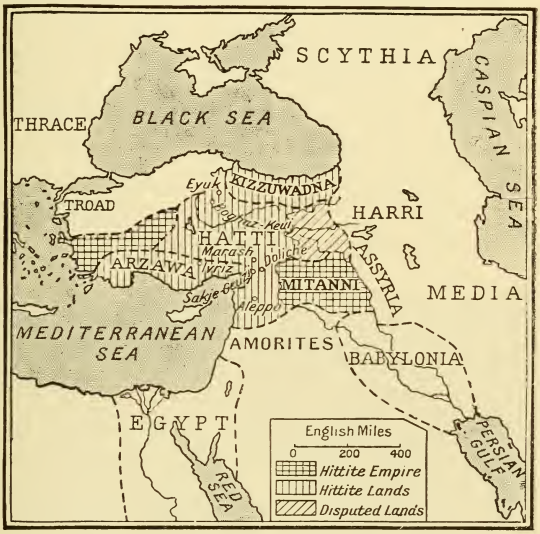
Another feature of Hittite society is that the title of the queens of Hatti,

tawananna, remains with each queen for life, even though she survive her husband. This is surely a relic of a pre-Hittite matrilinear society, such as prevailed among the Lycians of later times.

As chief priest it fell to the king to perform rites to the country's gods at their local shrines. It is probably not entirely because the sources at our disposal are the royal archives that more texts are devoted to the state cult than to any other subject, for the king was the personification of the nation, and it was believed that any misfortune or defilement that befell him, or any sin that he committed, would be visited upon the people. This outlook is expressed most clearly in the prayers of Mursili II during the great plague.

At the outset of his military career this king visited the chief sanctuary of his people, that of the sun-goddess of Arinna; and at the end of each campaign he never failed to render her due tribute, honor and glory. The same feeling characterizes the attitude of Hattusili III towards his patron goddess, Ishtar of Samukha. The relation of king to deity is most strikingly suggested by the great relief in the small gallery at Yazilikaya, where the king is shown in the protecting embrace of the storm god Teshub.

We have not space to describe in detail the complicated Hittite pantheon. The chief gods of the state religion were not those connected especially with the Indo-European element among the Hittites, but the deities of the indigenous Hattic layer, whose shrines had been established in the land in prehistoric times, and lasted on into the Roman period. At the head stood the sun goddess of Arinna, the guardian of kingship, with her husband, a storm god. Of great importance also is Telepinu, a vegetation god and subject of a kind of "dying god" myth (the identity of his name with that of the king mentioned above is not yet satisfactorily explained). A prominent position is occupied by certain Mesopotamian gods, such as Zamama.



WHERE THE HITTITES HELD SWAY

This sketch-map indicates the principal sites of Hittite culture and the distribution of the various states whose history is described in the accompanying text. Practically the whole of the Hittite sphere of influence was mountainous, and Hattusas (Boghaz Keui), the capital, occupied a position of high strategic value.

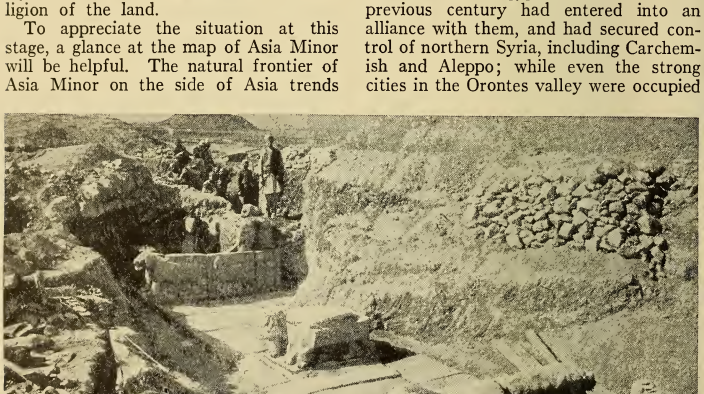
With the death of king Telepinu about 1650 B.C. the records break off, and for the next 200 years even the names of the kings are uncertain. During this period the Hyksos were driven out of Egypt, and the Pharaohs were carried on a wave of conquest into Syria, where their chief opponent was Mitanni, a state of upper Mesopotamia. This area and the moun-

ains of the north were occupied by the Hurri; but in Mitanni the rulers were, as in Hatti, Indo-Europeans, though of the eastern, Aryan, branch. They had adopted much of their civilization from Babylonia, and indications point to their having during this period exercised great influence over the Hittites, analogous to that of the Hyksos in Egypt.

Thus in the fifteenth century B.C., when the curtain again rises on the land of Hatti, we find the dominion of the kings reduced to the territory in the immediate vicinity of the capital. Some changes are observable. The king assumes a row of titles after the Oriental manner; the state assembly no longer appears in the records; provincial governors are found side by side with vassal kings, and a Hurrite layer of deities is superposed on the religion of the land.

To appreciate the situation at this stage, a glance at the map of Asia Minor will be helpful. The natural frontier of Asia Minor on the side of Asia trends north-eastwards from the Gulf of Alexandretta, following the lines of Taurus, Anti-Taurus and the heights north of the upper Euphrates, towards Batum. Inside this are three main areas: the central position in classical Cappadocia, which we have assigned to Hatti; the left wing in Pontus, which we assign to the state of Kizzuwadna; and the right wing in Cilicia, divided from Hatti by the main range of Taurus, which constituted the kingdom of Arzawa. The mountain region of Lesser Armenia we believe to have been occupied by the tribes of Gasga. Beyond the Euphrates the Hurrite lands, especially Mitanni, were still powerful, though Assyria was beginning to recover her lost territory.

After their trial of strength with the Mitannians the Egyptian Pharaohs in the previous century had entered into an alliance with them, and had secured control of northern Syria, including Carchemish and Aleppo; while even the strong cities in the Orontes valley were occupied



LION-GUARDED APPROACH TO A PALACE-TEMPLE

A remarkable uniformity of motive in the construction of palace gateways manifests itself throughout Hittite lands. The entrance is nearly always recessed, with bas-reliefs on the flanking walls, and half-disengaged figures of lions acting as guardians at each corner. In this late palace at Sakje Geuzi the recess is so broad that it demanded a central column; and this, it is interesting to note, was borne on a pedestal of two sphinxes.

Photo, Professor Garstang

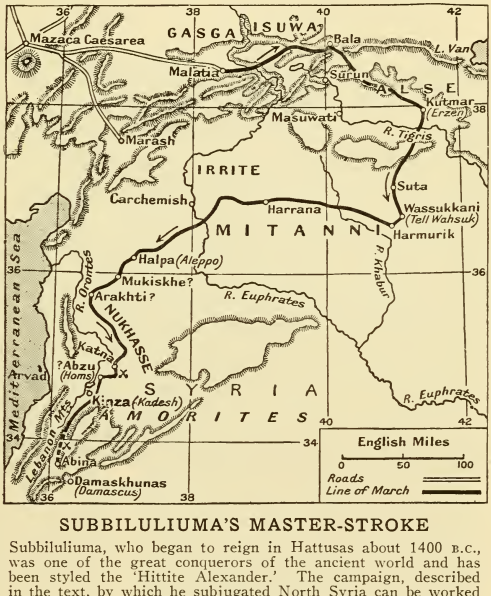
by Mitannian troops. The Amorite chieftains (seated possibly in what is now the Jebel Druse), together with the petty states of Lebanon and the seaboard of Syria, were, however, still regarded as Egyptian allies or vassals. The Cassite kings of Babylonia in the south, though sharing with the rulers of Egypt, Hatti and Mitanni the title of "Great King" had never cherished political ambitions.

Early in the fourteenth century B.C. the relaxing of Egypt's grip under Amenhotep III and Akhnaton, by shaking the confidence of the Syrian states and leaving Mitanni without assistance, produced the critical situation for which the king who now succeeded to the Hittite throne, Subbiluliuma, was prepared.

The artificial defences of the city were strengthened, redoubts were constructed; great stone walls were erected round the city, following now the edge of the ravines and now the crests of the ramparts on the more exposed sides, where also the mural defence was ultimately doubled. The gateways were adorned with lions, sphinxes and other sculptures. The communications, locally difficult despite the central position of the capital, were doubtless made passable for chariots. The main roads are still largely traceable or in use today.

Subbiluliuma secured his flanks by alliances with Kizzuwadna and Arzawa, and with the Hurri state and Azzi-Hayasha in the Armenian mountains. These political bonds formed the weakest element in the Hittite position, but, so long as they held, the advantage lay with the Hittite rulers.

A first tentative descent of the Hittites into Syria, as far as the district of Nuhasse between Aleppo and the Orontes, had apparently not met with full success. At any rate, the Mitannian king Dushratta informed the Pharaoh that the raid had been repulsed. With only one main line of descent into Syria, that of Marash, Subbiluliuma's column as it advanced southwards exposed its flank to attack from the side of Carchemish and Aleppo, cities still, it would seem, in Dushratta's power.



SUBBILULIUMA'S MASTER-STROKE

Subbiluliuma, who began to reign in Hattusas about 1400 B.C., was one of the great conquerors of the ancient world and has been styled the 'Hittite Alexander.' The campaign, described in the text, by which he subjugated North Syria can be worked out from the state archives, though its later phases are obscure.

From materials supplied by Professor Garstang

Profiting by the arrangement with Hurri, the king laid his plans on wider strategic lines. Crossing the Euphrates higher up, presumably at Malatia, he devastated the opposite territory of Isuwa, which still apparently acknowledged Dushratta's supremacy, and secured that line for his great advance. He then crossed the Euphrates in force, and advanced eastward to the land of Alse at

the bend of the Tigris, where he stormed the fortress of Kutmar (near the modern Erzen). Descending southwards, he gained entrance to the fortress of Suta and finally appeared before Wassukkanni, the Mitannian capital. This may be presumed to have been situated at the sources of the Khabur River. Dushratta is said to have avoided battle.

Now directing his line of march westward, Subbiluliuma apparently crossed the Euphrates below Carchemish, and secured Aleppo. His way was now open; Carchemish, if still in enemy hands, was isolated; and without loss of time he pushed towards the valley of the Orontes. One by one the cities beside that river fell. He had not proposed to attack Kadesh, the key position to the Amorite country, but the Mitannian generals still in occupation came out against him. Their ultimate defeat established Subbiluliuma as overlord of northern Syria.

It had proved a brilliant expedition. The Mitannian alliance with Egypt was ruptured. Mitanni, isolated, was on the verge of annihilation, and the prestige of Egypt had received a fateful blow. The local chieftains tendered their allegiance, and even the powerful Amorite rulers entered into negotiations for alliance, though protesting to the Pharaoh their enduring loyalty. Farther south, as far as the frontiers of Palestine, the repercussion produced a profound effect. Bands of Hittites passed on, one city after another falling to them or to the Amorites.

GOD AND GODDESS MEET

Among the most remarkable Hittite carvings are those of the shrine of Yazilikaya in the vicinity of Hattusas, the capital. In the portion shown above we see apparently the storm god (left, borne by four priests) face to face with the great sun goddess who is carried on a lioness and attended by a number of priestesses.

Photo, Liverpool Institute of Archaeology

Despairing letters from the Egyptian representatives in Syria warned the Pharaoh of the imminent disaster, but the young king Akhnaton was busy with his ideals, and Egypt, torn internally on the vital matter of national religion, was not in a position for imperial intervention. The Hittites were master. Treaties with the states and princes laid down terms of alliance or of vassalage, and, matters at issue were settled by Subbiluliuma from the throne of Hatti. The warrior king had become an emperor.

In Mitanni the death of Dushratta, and the fact that the king's son fled to Subbiluliuma seeking protection against the rulers of Hurri who seized the throne, presented the Hittite monarch with an opportunity to complete his aspirations. Subbiluliuma denounced his treaty with Hurri, and threw in his lot with Dushratta's son. This prince was re-established under Hittite protection over a portion of the Mitannian dominion east of the Euphrates.

The re-establishment of the fortunes of Mitanni, even on this reduced scale, was destined, however, to prove unavailing. Subbiluliuma, when he saw the distressful condition of the land even sent administrators with horses, sheep and cattle to restore its life; but the tentacles of Assyria were upon it. Already the spoils of Dushratta's earlier victories had been

reclaimed, and during the next generation the Hittite protection ceased. When, about 1275 B.C., the forces of Shalmaneser appeared before Malatia, not only was all semblance of Mitannian independence at an end, but the new danger was to threaten the integrity of the Hittite empire itself.

For the time being, however, Subbiluliuma's conquests were secured. He had taken Carchemish, and retained the territories of northern Syria. The throne of Carchemish passed to the royal family of Hatti, and was destined to remain the center of Hittite power in Syria for centuries.

Notwithstanding his precautions, Subbiluliuma's absence in Mesopotamia and in Syria had given rise to complications nearer home. The rupture of the treaty with the Hurri had exposed the left wing of his main position to the inroads of his rival, followed by local risings; and the situation was hardly redressed when Subbiluliuma died and his son Mursili II became king (c. 1345 B.C.). Mursili's youth was the cause of more widespread disaffection, which culminated in the open rebellion of the Gasga states and of Arzawa. Taking command in person, the young monarch led his troops in a series of vigorous campaigns, and in ten years had established his position, while maintaining, it may be gathered, the treaty obligations of the Syrian states.

His first blow was aimed at the heart of the Gasga territory, by a march up the passes of Anti-Taurus from Mazaca, whence the rebels were struck in their left flank. Descending, he passed northwards to Sivas, whence another blow was delivered upon the rebels' right. Most of the towns and princes capitulated at once, and others were captured.

But the situation in Arzawa was more serious. This federation, situated in Cilicia Tracheia with ramifications in Cilicia proper, on the east, and as far as Lycia, on the west, was never, apparently, wholly Hittite. The country was difficult; and separated as it was from the plateau of Hatti by the range of Taurus, a spirit of independence lingered. United against Hatti it would have proved dangerous.

Mursili returned to Hattusas to refit and marched against the rebels. Crossing by the region of Lawasa (a name which seems to survive in the classical Lauzados and the modern Lavza), he seems at once to have interrupted the rebels' communications. The rebel king was awaiting him at Apasas (in Pamphylia), but Mursili intercepted his son on the bank of the river Astarpa, and defeated him.

Mursili advanced next upon Apasas, to find the rebel leader fled toward the plains, while a part of his forces had retreated to Buranda. The enemy was now divided into three. Mursili first pursued those who had fled to the mountain region of Arinnanda, which we believe to be in southeastern Lycia, and, having signally defeated them, sent back numerous prisoners to the capital. Winter being now upon them, Mursili enclosed a fortified camp upon the river Astarpa and went into winter quarters.

In the spring Mursili moved without delay towards the plains. The rebel king,

HITTITES SELF-PORTRAYED

The open-air sanctuary at Yazilikaya near Boghaz Keui furnishes us with contemporary portraits of the Hittites by themselves—presumably the genuine Hatti type. The figures, in an inner recess, are performing a religious dance; they wear the peculiar Hittite peaked hat.

Photo, Dr. R. Campbell Thompson

however, had meanwhile died. As his followers had decamped, Mursili turned against those who had retired on Buranda, and laid siege to the town. The leader escaped and was re-mustering his troops when Mursilî, by cutting through his lines, assured the completion of his victories. Other inhabitants of Arzawa now submitted.

The reorganization and pacification of the provinces Mursili had retaken was accomplished by retaining some of the local chieftains and reinstating others. All were bound separately by treaty to terms of vassalage. The boundaries to each province were defined. The kingdom of Arzawa was dismembered, and a number of principalities took its place, each a fief of the central throne. In Syria also the Great King's suzerainty was maintained, and treaties were renewed with the rulers of Aleppo and the Amorites.

It was probably during the reign of Mursili that the rock sanctuary of Yazilikaya, about three miles from the capital was adorned with the figures in relief which make it one of the most remarkable monuments of Anatolia. The theme is a rite in which the statue of the chief Hittite storm god apparently is borne in procession, accompanied by other local deities and their priests, to meet the sun goddess, who stands on her lion, attended by her son and a retinue of priestesses.

Now, too, the area of the township was extended to the north, enclosing lower ground less readily defensible. Herein was built the greatest of the palace-temples, and here excavation brought to light the royal libraries containing the long-lost archives of the empire.

A number of the rock-carvings and other monuments mentioned above must date from this imperial age. The great concentration is in the vicinity of Boghaz Keui itself and as far south as Tyana and Konia, an area which may be regarded as the land of Hatti in the narrowest sense, and they are of a style which finds its culmination in the carvings of Yazilikaya.

Further, it is significant that the two chief routes from that region to the south and east, which lead down to the key-

HITTITE DEITY IN EUROPE

Hittite survivals were not confined to the homeland in Anatolia. Into the remotest parts of Europe the Roman soldiery carried the worship of a god whom they found at Doliche; compare this Roman bronze discovered near Frankfort with the Hittite sculpture at Malatia (left).

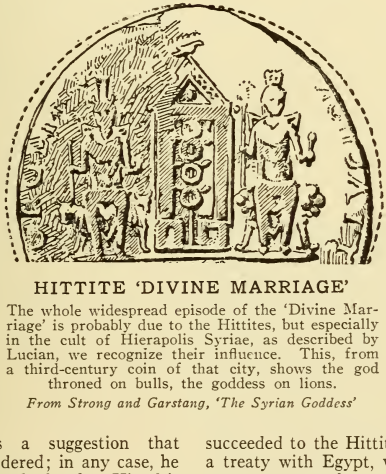
Above, from Meyer, 'Reich und Kultur der Chetiter'

positions of Marash and Malatia respectively, are perfectly defined by a chain of similar monuments. Towards the west the monuments are few, but their distribution contributes testimony even more striking; for through a country otherwise devoid of Hittite works there stretches out a single line of monuments, through

Phrygia, to the coast near Ephesus by the pass of Karabel. That the Hittites never occupied or dominated wider tracts of territory in the west appears also from the written sources, and these monuments may well belong to the last years of the Empire.

The last phase of imperial affairs takes us once more into Syria, where Egypt was seeking under Seti I and Rameses II to re-establish itself, and had already organized an important part of northern Palestine. It fell to the lot of Mursili's successor, Muwatalli, to decide the issue.

Fresh warriors were enlisted, among them some whose names have become familiar in the Homeric catalogue of the Trojan allies. The battle was fought at Kadesh on the upper Orontes in 1296 B.C., but the issue was indecisive. The Pharaoh (Rameses II) vaunted his personal prowess on the Egyptain temple walls but the Hittite ascendancy in Syria was maintained. There is a suggestion that Muwatalli was murdered; in any case, he did not long survive the battle. His ultimate successor, Hattusili, found himself confronted with a more fateful problem.



HITTITE 'DIVINE MARRIAGE'

The whole widespread episode of the 'Divine Marriage' is probably due to the Hittites, but especially in the cult of Hierapolis Syriae, as described by Lucian, we recognize their influence. This, from a third-century coin of that city, shows the god throned on bulls, the goddess on lions.

From Strong and Garstang, 'The Syrian Goddess'

The new menace came from the west. Already, in the time of Mursili, Hittite diplomacy had recognized the independence and status of kings of Ahhiyawa and Lazpas, names which look like Hittite versions of Achaia and Lesbos. There is every indication that Achaean groups were seeking to grasp positions upon the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor; and the places where Mycenaean settlements are known to have existed seem to correspond remarkably with the names in the Hittite texts.

In the reign of Muwatalli, in addition to the Dardanian bands who fought on the Hittite side at Kadesh, there appeared a prince named Alaksandus, newly bound to the Hittite king by a treaty which recognized him as settled at the head of an island state. Its Hittite name, Uilusa, and the context, may indicate identity with Elaeussa, upon the southern coast of Cilicia Tracheia. An alternative identification would be Ialysus on the island of Rhodes, the landward promontory of which was called Achaia in Greek times. But Alaksandus is a Trojan rather than an Achaean name, and the Achaeans were clearly masters of the sea and islands. No doubt they used this promontory during their raids on Caria. In any case, the background for the Trojan war was already taking shape. Dardanian groups are seen to be admitted as allies upon the soil of the peninsula, while the Achaeans are seeking to gain a footing.

Meanwhile, the Assyrian forces were at the Euphrates, and Hattusili, who had succeeded to the Hittite throne, proposed a treaty with Egypt, while making overtures to secure the co-operation of Babylonia also. The treaty with Egypt was concluded about 1280 B.C., and later was cemented by the marriage of a Hittite princess to the Pharaoh.

Although the Assyrian menace was checked, the Achaean inroads continued. About 1250 B.C. bands with 100 ships under Attarisiya descended on Caria. The tract is indicated by the identity of the place-name Khursunassa in the texts with the classical Chersonesus; and several other names grouped with it seem to have survived in the locality.

Dudkhalia, the Hittite king, carried out (c. 1240 B.C.) a campaign in the west, which brought him to the coasts of the Aegean, and the monuments which mark

the route to the west may well date from this time. In the same reign the Achaean power had so far developed that the Achaean king is placed on the same diplomatic footing as those of Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt. Though twice repulsed from Caria, the Achaeans about 1225 B.C. gained a footing in Cyprus, whence, accompanied by bands from the opposite coasts and mainland of Asia Minor, they raided far, descending even upon Egypt, in the age of Merneptah.

We can only surmise the end. A great movement or series of migrations from Europe was afoot, and about 1200 B.C. the Hittite lands were overwhelmed. The clash of arms around Troy was only an incident in the crisis that submerged the Hittite empire. The records of Rameses III tell how the isles were disturbed, and how the Hittites fled or were led in a great inroad upon Syria, which menaced Egypt and left the Philistines settled in Palestine. In Asia Minor, to judge from Homeric legend, the Phrygians replaced the Hittite kings in fame.

Thereafter only the states of Syria remained to carry on the Hittite tradition, until in the eighth century B.C. these, too, fell before Assyria. But Carchemish, Aleppo and various states upon the Afrin and the Orontes had retained considerable power. Frequent coalitions throughout these centuries reflected the Hittite organization, and the martial fame of their kings find an echo in the chronicles of Israel. Hittite characteristics in art were, however, soon submerged before the growing influences from beyond the Euphrates.

It was in religion that the elements of the old Hittite culture survived most noticeably. At Hierapolis Syriae the dual cult of the mated god and goddess, symbolized during the Hittite period by the Bull and the Lion respectively, remained the central feature of local worship in the age of Lucian. The high priest still wore the conical hat characteristic of the Hittite warrior dress. At Doliche the local deity, represented, like the Hittite storm god, standing upon a bull with lightning trident and axe, was introduced by recruits to the Roman army; monuments of this cult have been found even in Roman Britain.

Europe's heritage from the Hittite civilization does not, however, end with traces of surviving details. The spirit of organization, the upholding of law and order, the sanctity of treaties and respect for woman are features that distinguish European society. It cannot be argued that the Hittite originated these elements of modern civilization, but it was behind the shelter of the Hittite armies of Taurus and Anti-Taurus that Hittites and Europeans developed their latent genius.

THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION IN EGYPT

AN ECCENTRIC PHARAOH AND THE MOMENTARY CHANGE HE WROUGHT IN THE IMMEMORIAL RELIGION OF HIS LAND

By F. LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH, LL.D., F.B.A.

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PROFOUND changes took place in Egyptian religion between the time of the builders of the Great Pyramids and that of the general acceptance of Christianity. Some came from outside, most were born in Egypt. But whatever trash and superfluity were piled up, there was also accumulated among Egyptian religious beliefs lavish provision for each of the natural yearnings of the human mind—spells for the sick, a future for the dead, guardians against all dangers and avengers of wrong, not to mention processions and festivals to fill the soul with pleasure or with tragic sympathy.

One of these changes, however, was of a totally different character from all the rest and was never absorbed into the general mass of beliefs and practices. It was a phenomenon that appeared almost in a moment, lasted precariously some fifteen years and then disappeared. Akhnaton's reform was as revolutionary in its day as the change from paganism to Christianity, and greater than that from Christianity to the Moslem faith.

A country which had united the gods of its cities, its nature gods and all its other divinities into a vast pantheon, a people which had rejoiced for hundreds of generations in the festivals of its local gods and looked to particular deities for protection and aid, was bidden to put them all aside and worship one supreme deity, the Sun in the heavens. With this deity the king and queen were closely united as his children and representatives on earth.

The cult of the sun god Ra, centered at Heliopolis in the Delta, had for untold ages been a leading feature of Egyptian worship, especially in connection with royalty. As the regulator of seasons and of light and darkness, Ra was king in heaven and the type of the earthly king, who, moreover, bore the title 'Son of Ra.'

Under certain circumstances another deity than the sun god, as, for example, the crocodile god Sebek, could be explained as a particular manifestation of Ra and have Ra added to his name. The most important is Amen, an obscure local god of Thebes in the time of the Old Kingdom, but brought into prominence by the rise of the Twelfth Dynasty. He soon became Amen-Ra with an important

ROYAL UGLINESS UNDISGUISED

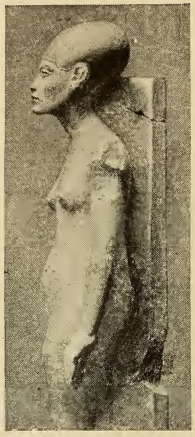
As Cromwell insisted on being painted 'with his warts,' so Akhnaton forbade the least flattery in representations of himself. The unusual facial development which was one feature of his abnormality is even exaggerated in this relief.

Berlin Museum

temple, and in the time of the Empire Amen-Ra, god of the imperial city, was acknowledged as the bringer of victory to the armies of the Pharaohs.

To him, therefore, was assigned the principal share in the spoils of conquest until all the other gods of Egypt were completely overshadowed by his wealth and reputation. The possessions of Amen-Ra grew to vast dimensions. Each Pharaoh down to and including Amenhotep III, added substantially to Amen-Ra's estates and the temples dedicated to him.

The travelled Egyptians—and during the period immediately preceding Akhnaton's accession multitudes had visited Syria and Nubia, and some had looked out beyond the Empire to Babylon and Asia Minor and Crete—the travelled Egyptians found everywhere the dominant sun. Though the combined deity Amen-Ra was god of Thebes and of the Empire, it was Ra the sun rather than Amen that appealed to the educated man. Thus among a certain class the way was prepared to some degree for Akhnaton's reform; their prayers and hymns, however, as yet were full of ideas and words taken from mythology.



QUEEN NEFERTITI

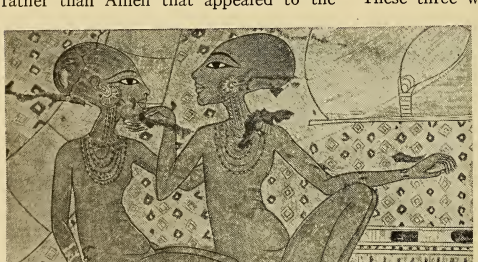
This dignified limestone figure of Akhnaton's consort was the work of the sculptor Thothmes.

Berlin Museum

A remarkable hymn to Amen-Ra, written in the reign of Amenhotep III, views that god mainly as the Sun, naming him Ra Khepera, the "elder Horus," and Aton; it also identifies him with Amen himself, and Khnumu, the moulder of men, and Ptah, the artificer god of Memphis. Though utilising the old mythology it crowds many attributes on one god, and is a foretaste of the monotheistic spirit of the hymns to the Aton.

Aton, the leading name given to the chosen deity of Akhnaton, was a word that had been in use for many centuries to denote the visible sun. Another common name for the sun god at this time was "Ra, Horus of the Horizon"; and yet another name was Shu. These three were utilized in the title of the new sun god, while other names, Atum and Khepera, equally legitimate, were ignored.

The history of the religious revolution is being recovered, but much remains obscure. Amenhotep III died after nearly thirty-six years of reign; his son, Amenhotep IV, the future Akhnaton, is generally considered to have been about eleven years old at his accession, though he may have been already a grown man. Until the sixth year of his reign his principal residence seems to have been at Thebes, and for a time the name of Amen was retained in his own name Amenhotep, 'Amen is content,'



CARE-FREE PRINCESSES AT HOME

Notwithstanding the exaggerated cranial development which court artists, deferentially recognizing Akhnaton's peculiarity, attributed to all their subjects, there is a great vivacity and much that is pleasing in this fresco showing two of the princesses seated at the feet of their parents.

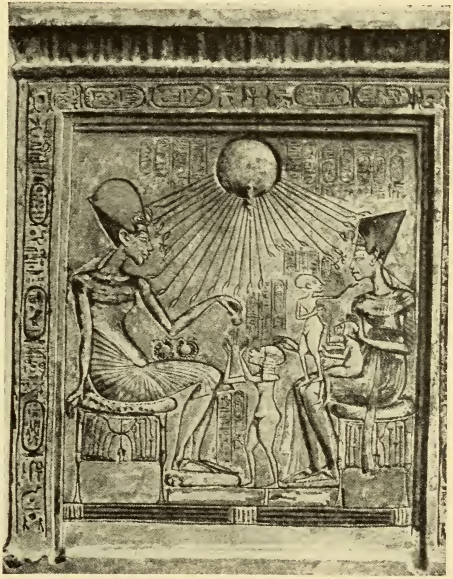
Ashmolean Museum

and the usual references to the god were tolerated in his inscriptions.

The young king however, had little or no respect for the imperial god and, so far as we know, did nothing for Amen-Ra's glory or benefit. In one of his earliest inscriptions, written probably before he was fifteen, the king styles himself High Priest of 'Ra, Horus of the Horizon, who rejoices in the horizon, in his name Shu, which is Aton.' Here we have already the full name of his new sun god; and whereas no Pharaoh had ever adopted any priestly title, the youthful king boldly flaunts this challenging phrase. All his efforts were devoted to completing a temple, or temples, at Thebes to his specially devised form of the sun god, utilising, at least in part, a building erected to other gods by his father Amenhotep III, and reshaping the figures and names in the sculptures upon its walls.

This naturally brought the king into conflict with the priesthood. Then he answered by withdrawing from Thebes, diverting to Aton the vast endowments of Amen-Ra, and cutting out the name and figure of Amen wherever it was encountered. Against the other gods he acted with less stringency, though all except Ra must have been placed under the ban. This second stage of the revolution came in the sixth year of his reign, when he removed the capital to an unused site at Tell el-Amarna. He gave to the city the name of Akhetaton, "Horizon of Aton," and changed his own name from Amenhotep, to Akhnaton, 'Profitable (or Pious) to Aton.'

One of the names which Amenhotep IV had assumed when, as a boy, he ascended the throne, was 'He that lives in Truth,' and this was to a large extent the motto of his life. Simplicity, directness and break with tradition pervade the atmosphere of his reign, but combined in a peculiar way with new conventions and the utmost luxury. In his early portraits the diseased and ill-formed features and body were represented without concealment, and, becoming a standard for courtly and artistic fashion, gave a very unpleasant and unnatural turn to the representation of human beings throughout his reign. Further, the family life of the king was pictured in the freest manner—the king and queen in fond embrace, the queen sitting on the knee of the king, or the king sitting on a chair with the queen on a cushion opposite him, and the daughters, according to their age, climbing on to his lap or standing or sitting beside the royal pair.



INTIMATE LIFE IN A ROYAL PALACE

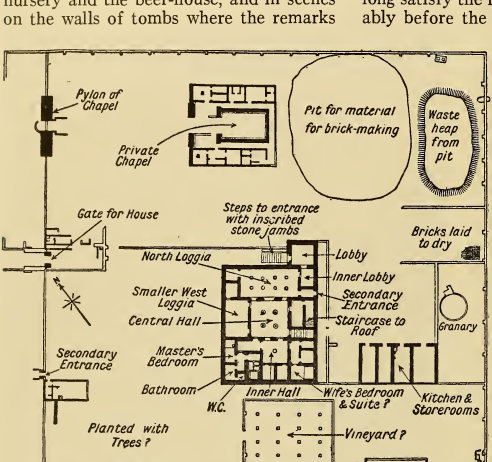
Akhnaton's indifference to established precedent is further shown in this altar piece from his palace, where he is represented with his wife and three eldest daughters enjoying the happiness of private citizens under the rays of the sun god.

Cairo Museum

Akhnaton's religious doctrine, too, was

a statement of facts that were or seemed to be obvious, with but a modicum of abstraction and as free of mysticism as of mythology. The language of many of his inscriptions was that current in the mouths of the people of the day. For some generations this "vulgar" language had been used in writing for recording on papyrus the popular tales told in the nursery and the beer-house, and in scenes on the walls of tombs where the remarks of the peasants were written beside their figures. Amenhotep IV may have been a grown man at his accession, but he seems to us a precocious boy just taken out of the harem to rule the known world, with his head full of fairy tales, rejecting the dullness and dryness of tradition and interpreting the universe as he saw it in terms with which his mother and nurse had made him familiar.

Already in the earliest years of Amenhotep IV at Thebes the names of the new god were written inside royal cartouches; the cartouches were large, as benefitted the king of the universe, while the cartouches of Pharaoh, his son and vicegerent on earth, were on a smaller scale. 'Ra, Horus of the Horizon, rejoicing in the horizon in his name of Shu, which is Aton,' was figured in human form, but with the hawk's head surmounted by the solar disk which characterized Ra and Horus in orthodox Heliopolitan worship. This anthropomorphic type, however, did not long satisfy the realism of the king. Probably before the sixth year of his reign, a change was made.



PLAN OF A TEMPLE OFFICIAL'S HOUSE

Pnahesi, 'chief laborer of Aton in Akhetaton'—administrator, probably, of the temple estates—was seemingly a 'new man' with no pedigree; yet his house, with its private chapel and charming grounds, was one of the most sumptuous in the town. This suggests that Akhnaton bought his supporters.

Courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society

Henceforth Aton was always figured as the sun disk; from the edge of the disk hung the uraeus (cobra), a badge of royalty which had always figured the death-dealing powers of the sun and of the king, but was now united with the symbol of life. From the disk proceeded broad rays like arms ending in human hands which reached down from sky to earth, embracing the king, applying the symbol of life to his nostrils and accepting the offerings upon the altar. Thereafter only one of the old accompaniments of Ra survived; in planning Akhetaton, the king provided a burial place for the Mnevis bull!

About the tenth year there was a further purification of Atonism. The revised names of the Aton now were 'Liveth Ra, ruler of the horizon, rejoicing on the horizon, in his name of Ra, the Father who hath returned as Aton.' Thus all that was traditional and local in Egypt was gone, leaving Atonism a pure worship of the sun for the whole world to adopt.

All the temples erected or embellished for the Aton at Thebes, both in the earlier and the later stages of Atonism, were thrown down at the counter-revolution and their materials re-used for the core of pylons and the foundations of other buildings in the reigns of Horemheb, Seti I and Rameses II. It is calculated

that a hundred and seventy thousand great blocks are sunk in the foundations of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak alone.

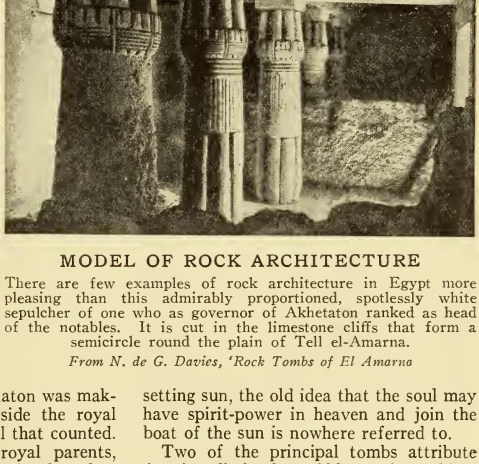
The temples at Tell el-Amarna (Akhetaton) are destroyed, but from the radiant form given to the Aton and the plans of the temples it is practically certain that the Aton temples were very different from the dark, mysterious shrines of the old Egyptian gods. The most essential parts consisted of open courts into which the sunlight streamed, while the shade of trees and roofs made a contrast to the central glare. The sacrifices to Aton were of cattle, geese, cakes, and vegetables, and were accompanied by music and hymns.

To judge by the hymns in the tombs, the chief celebrations of the ritual would have been at sunrise and sunset, and prayers for the long life of the king and queen and royal family formed an important part of the service. Moreover, every great villa had a private shrine, and every house a little tablet, showing the king and queen beneath the Aton.

The records of new men are perhaps naturally bare of genealogies, but even wife and children are very rarely mentioned in any of the tombs of Akhetaton. Akhnaton was making a fresh start and, outside the royal family, it was the individual that counted. On the other hand the royal parents, Amenhotep III (under his harmless throne-name Nebmara) and Tiyi, and even the grandfather Thothmes IV, were honored and revered with a kind of worship.

Atonism acquiesced in most of the funerary practices current at the time. It also accepted the current ideas regarding the underworld and the future life, only purged of all mythology and of all divinities except the sun god; it prayed that the name be remembered, that the mummy be preserved, the soul make its transformations, the corpse be revived, the gates of the underworld be readily passed.

Even in the tomb of Iuaa, which dates from Akhnaton's twelfth year, when Atonism had reached its most exclusive stage, the prayers are for food and drink from the possessions of the deceased and for recitations of the service of Aton. We see still in force the custom of presenting to the corpse a shoulder just severed from a living bull calf while its mother stands by. On the other hand, although the dead man desires to see the rising and setting sun, the old idea that the soul may have spirit-power in heaven and join the boat of the sun is nowhere referred to.



MODEL OF ROCK ARCHITECTURE

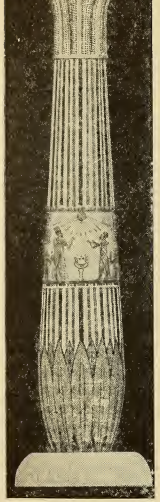
There are few examples of rock architecture in Egypt more pleasing than this admirably proportioned, spotlessly white sepulcher of one who as governor of Akhetaton ranked as head of the notables. It is cut in the limestone cliffs that form a semicircle round the plain of Tell el-Amarna.

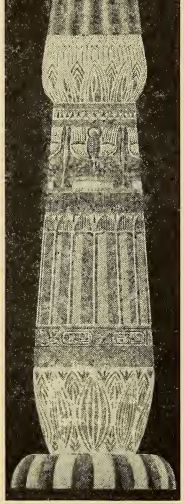
From N. de G. Davies, 'Rock Tombs of El Amarna

Two of the principal tombs attribute Atonism distinctly to Akhnaton's teaching. The sun was a most worshipful object, and we can believe that, contemplating mainly the joyous aspects of life, the young king burst forth into a wholehearted hymn of praise and worship of the sun. This, we feel, was his teaching, and all the needs of human existence so far as they were not comprised in this somewhat childish view were completely ignored by it.

The queen Nefertiti must have felt that something was wanting to her happiness in his teaching, and we may suspect that

during the bitter winds of February she longed for a more genial climate. Certain it is that, after years had marked her beautiful features with lines of pain, she was a backslider from the doctrine. Perhaps it was not until after Akhnaton's death that she slipped away to sympathizers at Thebes. In and about the palaces of Akhetaton, where her name had been inscribed on the doorways of





PILLARS FROM A KING'S GARDEN

Thirty-six columns—one of which is shown here (left) reconstructed—graced the entrance court to Akhnaton's gardens outside the capital. The pillars that stood in the garden temple (right) were even more richly decorated.

Courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society

halls and chambers, it was now chiselled out and the name of her eldest daughter, the crown princess Mertaton, substituted.

Rebellion against Atonism and its royal exponent was probably already rife; Atonism, indeed, can have had little hold outside the boundaries of Akhetaton. In the seventeenth year of his reign Akhnaton died and apparently was succeeded by his son-in-law, Smenkhkara (Sakere), married to the above Mertaton. There followed Tutankhaton, who married Ankhesenpaton; but this pair soon changed their names to Tutankhamen and Ankhesenamen, and followed Nefertiti to Thebes. The heresy of monotheism was over.

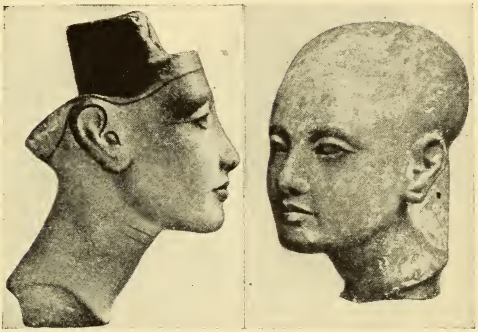
Then came revenge. The names and figures of the Aton and of Akhnaton and his family were cut out of the monuments and their buildings converted into stone quarries. Tutankhamen and his aged successor Ay had some respect for the memory of the heretic; but with the accession of Horemheb, he and all his descendants were consigned to oblivion, and if Akhnaton had to be mentioned he was designated only as "the criminal of Akhetaton."

The tomb chapels near the workmen's village at Tell el-Amarna were destroyed, but a few tablets were spared which had been dedicated to Sed and Isis, the deities who preserve from the stings of reptiles, and to the arch-enemy Amen. They probably belong to the last stages of the heresy. In the ruins of the city itself Taurt, the lady of accouchement, and the comic god Bes are amongst the commonest designs for pendants and necklaces. One may suspect that the women, even in the flourishing times of Atonism, cherished these remnants of polytheism, the beloved deities of the harem and the nursery.

It is contended by some that Akhnaton's religion was not monotheism but henotheism. The henotheist worships one god out of a number, while the monotheist believes that his god is the only god. Akhnaton and his queen seem to have posed as intermediate gods between Aton and the people and to have been objects of worship. But they were on a different plane from the Aton, and essentially human. When we see that all other deities and the entire mythology of Egypt were ignored in Akhnaton's teaching, and that the plural word "gods" does not occur in his inscriptions, the term monotheism seems best to describe his religion.

A word must be said on the question whether Akhnaton's monotheism and tendency to universalism perished or left seeds to germinate in other lands. In Egypt they seem to have been a barren outgrowth from the tendencies of the

time, as exhibited in earlier hymns to the sun god; and no later beliefs or practices can be recognized as attributable to Akhnaton's reform. Aton temples must have been erected in all lands subject to the Egyptian empire, but one would suppose that the impression of Atonism left by the utter political failure abroad and the early collapse in Egypt would be unfavorable.



NEFERTITI AND ONE OF HER SEVEN DAUGHTERS

Devoted affection to his wife and children distinguished Akhnaton. This brown sandstone bust of his Queen Nefertiti (left) and the charming little head of one of his seven daughters are only two of many surviving portraits of a singularly devoted royal family. Both are from el-Amarna.

Berlin Museum

Judaism is the nearest monotheistic religion in point of date, but monotheism was probably first preached by the Jewish prophets in the eighth century B.C., six centuries after the fall of Atonism. Moreover, Akhnaton's god was the obviously universal sun, adopted by the Egyptian Pharaoh when his supremacy in the known world was still unquestioned. Yahweh was the obscure deity of a small kingdom planted amongst greater powers. Only a people with strong imagination and an

ROYAL FAVORS SHOWERED ON A FUTURE PHARAOH

In early life Akhnaton was largely under the influence of his nurse, and perhaps in virtue of Ay's marriage to her the latter held several high appointments at court, including the mastership of the horse and the post of fan bearer on the right of the king. The pair received many gifts and marks of honour from the king, one such occasion being commemorated in this fresco from Ay's tomb; and after the death of Tutankhamen the aged Ay was set upon the throne.

From N. de G. Davies, 'Rock Tombs of El Amarna,' Egypt Exploration Society

exalted faith could view Yahweh as the ruler of the universe.

The idol-less anthropomorphism of the Old Testament contrasts with Akhnaton's figure of his sun god. Yahweh was indeed the god of the Hebrew king and people in every respect, for they had no theory of life after death, and it was in this world that Yahweh rewarded virtue and punished ungodliness and vice. Yahweh was the guardian of his chosen people, to favor them and chastise them, to lead them to victory and at another time to punish their rebellion by the terrible hand of the Assyrian or the Babylonian. The presence of the cobra with the sign of life on the Aton may perhaps be taken as involving a somewhat similar doctrine, but, if so, the least possible emphasis was laid on the less joyous side of Atonism.

THE MINOANS AND MYCENAE: CIVILIZATION COMES TO EUROPE

A SOCIAL RECORD OF THE AGE WHEN CRETE TRANSMITTED FIRST ITS CULTURE THEN ITS POWER TO THE GREEK MAINLAND

By J. L. MYRES

Wykeham Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University; Author of The Dawn of History, etc.

THE earlier settlements of Minoan type in the islands of the Aegean do not seem to have differed greatly in their social organization from the villages or small townships of other ancient peoples of Europe and the Near East. The ground plan of places like Phylakopi in Melos, or Palaikastro and Gournia in eastern Crete, resemble indeed nothing so much as that of a modern Cretan village, with narrow winding streets, rising by rough stairways where the ground was steep, between irregular blocks of crowded dwellings, of which the thick walls and internal staircases show that they were lofty in comparison with their small area.

Phylakopi, lying on the coast, in an archipelago of other islands, was fortified fairly early, and with care, against attack; but the Cretan villages were open, and evidently feared no such disturbance. They were in frequent communication with each other, but nevertheless lived for the most part their own lives, and developed local peculiarities of craftsmanship within a general community of style.

But in the latter part of the Middle Minoan period a notable change occurred. While the smaller settlements went on much as before, a few of the larger ones—and especially Cnossus and Phaestus, in the two principal lowlands of central Crete—developed a more elaborate and very peculiar type of society and organization, which has been conveniently described as a 'palace,' though it was at the same time more and less than the palaces of oriental dynasties. For it was not the exclusive personal abode of a monarch with his court, but contained a large population of ordinary people of the country, the artisans, traders and the like.

To call these buildings 'palaces,' therefore, is to give but a partial impression of their use. They included, no doubt, the dwelling of the political sovereign and his household; but they were also the treasury, the arsenal, the council hall of a highly organized administration; the granaries, warehouses, oil-presses and oil-vats of a vast economic and industrial system; the bull ring, sports ground and auditorium for pageantry and recreation. It is clear that the political chief was also high priest of a public cult, and that the shrines of other cults found shelter and maintenance at his court.

MAP OF PRE-HELLENIC CRETE

Largest island of the Aegean archipelago and the last port of call between Europe and Egypt, Crete was naturally marked out for an important part in the traffic of the ancient world. Chief sites of the Minoan Civilization are shown in this map.

STEALTH VIVIDLY SUGGESTED

A feeling for naturalism makes itself felt in the frescoes as well as in the pottery of Late Minoan times. In this piece from Hagia Triada the execution of the waving vegetation, as well as the cat and the bird it is stalking, is excellent.

Photo, G. Maraghianni

The architectural elements of which these complicated 'palaces' were composed were partly small domestic suites of rooms, not altogether unlike modern apartments, for the various higher executives, rooms with the necessary vestibules and corridors, like the private houses of the older villages; partly structures of more special use and larger dimensions, such as the great gateway which gave access to the Palace of Cnossus from the north, that is to say from the sea and the harbor-town about three miles away, and the long range of 'magazines' in its western wing, with their rows of large clay store-jars, and the treasure chests constructed below the floor and concealed by the paving slabs. Only gradually were these various blocks of buildings, set irregularly as they were wanted around a central area, combined into a continuous structure; and the frequent rebuildings complicated and obscured any original plan there may have been. The general outlay is different at Cnossus and at Phaestus, and the smaller 'royal villas' at Hagia Triada and Mallia are different again.

CUP FROM VAPHIO

This gold cup is one of two found in a tomb at Vaphio in Sparta, but of such exquisite workmanship as to suggest Cretan origin. The design may have been influenced by the bull-leaping traditions of the Minoan arena, but what is more probably intended is the capture of wild bulls.

National Museum, Athens

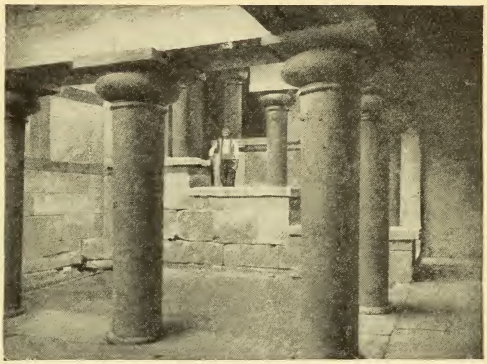
From the size of the larger centers of population, such as Cnossus and Phaestus, and even of country towns like Gournia or Palaikastro, it is clear that the population was large, and society highly organized. This is most clearly shown by the frequent use of writing in Middle and Late Minoan times. First there appears, already fully developed in its essential characteristics, a system of picture-writing like that of Egypt or Sumeria, or the Hittite regime in Asia Minor. Later, just as in Egypt and Sumeria, the pictorial signs were abbreviated and simplified into a linear script for rapid use, and of these there were several fashions.

But though their general purpose may be guessed, and though the grouping of the signs reveals something of the grammar, the sound of the language cannot yet be recovered, nor its meaning deciphered.

Elaborate provision for written records presumes a highly organized system of administration, and probably also of industry and trade. And it is no accident that it was during the latter part of the Middle Minoan period that we have evidence of a considerable expansion of the region which was dominated by this Cretan culture. In particular, whereas the older Cycladic culture had reached the Greek mainland in the districts most

directly accessible from the central island group, that is to say, around the Saronic Gulf leading to the Isthmus of Corinth, Cretan enterprise made a fresh start by way of the gulf of Argos farther south, which had been comparatively little affected by the earlier movement and consequently remained almost barbarous, as the lower layers of remains on its principal sites sufficiently show.

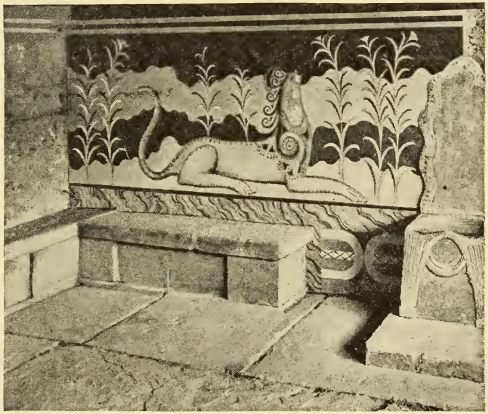
These mainland settlements will be described more fully later; what is important, from the Cretan standpoint, is their rapid rise to prosperity, once established, and the contrast between their impressive fortifications and the open townships and palace sites of Crete. Clearly, on the mainland, Minoan civilization had to establish and maintain itself by force, among unfriendly neighbors, and to adapt itself to these more difficult circumstances. Though the commoner furniture of everyday life was simpler and less decorative, fine examples of Cretan craftsmanship were imported freely for the use of the lords and defenders of these great castles; and it is safe to infer that in exchange for these masterpieces some considerable amount of wealth was sent back to the mother country.



A TRIUMPH OF PALATIAL ARCHITECTURE

Nothing in the ruins of Cnossus is more impressive than the Hall of the Colonnades. Entered from the passage through columns, shown here as reconstructed, it was an integral part of the architectural scheme for the grand staircase that rose from it in five stately flights (see page 274).

From Sir Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos, Macmillan



THE OLDEST ROYAL THRONE IN THE WORLD

The Throne of Minos at Knossos is a simple, dignified chair of white stone with a leaf-shaped back and hollowed seat. Below the seat is carved a double-moulded arch springing from flat fluted pilasters. Stone benches for the councillors are set on either side of it and around the room, and the walls were decorated with frescoes of gryphons in a landscape of papyrus and water, now replaced by a replica.

Photo, Boissonnas, Geneva

What this return-cargo was is not evident; in particular, it did not consist mainly of manufactured objects, for examples of the mainland arts are very rare on Cretan sites till a much later stage. Probably the considerable agricultural resources of the plain of Argos were exploited to feed the denser population of Crete; and possibly the gloomy and repellent picture retained in Greek folk-memory of the Cretan sea power may have had a foundation of fact in systematic kidnapping and slave raiding for the Cnossian labor market.

PALATIAL COUNTRY VILLA OF THE PHAESTIAN PRINCES

At Hagia Triada, about two miles south-west of Phaestus in Crete, a smaller palace was perhaps the summer residence of the royal family. An idea of its general plan can be gathered from this view from the north-east of the site as now uncovered. The walls, of finely squared ashlar masonry, remain standing to a greater height on the whole than on any other Minoan site.

Of the social and political aspects of Minoan society, however, little is known, in default of legible documents. The small size of the private houses indicates that the economic unit was not larger than the family group, such as is found later in almost all parts of the Mediterranean regime. As we should expect in circumstances where pastoral and hunting pursuits counted for little, and agriculture was in great measure garden work and fruit gathering, the status of the women, who usually undertake these tasks, was high; they appeared in public freely, and in the palace sports and dances girls took their part; even in dangerous feats, such as bull-baiting.

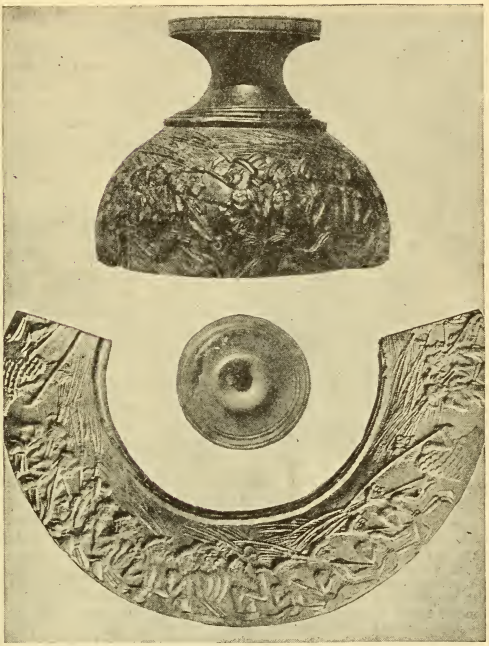
Even small towns had now their principal house, of exceptional size and convenience, and there are fairly numerous representations of officials wearing robes and carrying a staff, axe, or other symbol of authority. The stately reception rooms of the 'palaces' were designed for large assemblies; though the Throne Room at Cnossus has only benches to accommodate a few councillors on either side of the principal seat.

At the height of the palace regime population was evidently concentrated in the capital, and the wide distribution of standard types of pottery, as well as the provision for wholesale storage at headquarters, and the occasional discovery of workshops, suggest that production was on a considerable scale and distribution a monopoly of the monarch.

Though we know neither the names of the gods of the Minoans, nor anything directly about their religious practices, some notion may be obtained of their beliefs from representations of acts and objects of worship. Reverence was paid to typical manifestations of life and natural forces; to certain animals, such as the lion, dove, raven and serpent; to certain trees and plants; to mountain-peaks, rocks and springs. We have also glimpses of observance of the sun and moon. The powers inherent in all these were figured in human form, or in upright stones, pillars, horned altars and sacred enclosures. Special worship was paid to the double-edged axe, the symbol probably of a thunder god; perhaps also to the leathern body-shield. Most prominent is a great mother goddess, who has minor

deities associated with her, and especially a smaller male consort whom it is in accord with early beliefs of Asia Minor and Syria to call her son.

Sacrifice was offered, with blood of animal victims poured on or into the ground, and with burnt-offerings. Deities had their chapels within the 'palaces,' where sacred symbols, including a cross (see page 275), were displayed, with models of worshippers in attendance and vessels for offerings of food and drink. The dead were buried with careful and often lavish provision for bodily needs in the other world, and propitiated after death, like minor deities, with similar offerings and sacrifices, with music and dance. Though in many respects Minoan life seems to have been to some degree secularized, it is probable that the bull fighting and other athletic exercises, though practiced later as recreations, may have originated, like Greek athletic and dramatic festivals, from ceremonies to ensure the well-being of the dead or the gods.



MASTERPIECE OF THE MINOAN CARVER'S ART

On the Harvester Vase (an upper fragment) is carved a procession of villagers stamping along to the rattle of a sistrum and carrying flails and other agricultural implements. The vases in this and the following page and the Boxer Vase in page 367 show carving of the first period of the Late Minoan age at its best.

Photo, above, G. Maraghianni; below, from Monumenti Antichi, Milan

From the fresco paintings, which decorated the public rooms and main corridors of the palaces, from the delicate work of the gem engravers and above all from statuettes and plaques in glazed earthenware, quite at the end of this period, we can reconstruct the general look of the people and their ordinary attire.

The men still wore only a short loin cloth, confined by a tight-laced belt, and high boots of the supple white leather for which Crete is still noted among its neighbors. Dignitaries and elders sometimes wore a richly quilted cloak, and crowns of lilywork or feathers.

The women had elaborated a very modern-looking bodice, short-waisted, short-sleeved, very low in the neck, but often with a standing collar behind. Below the highly decorated belt, which was worn as tight as by the men, hung a voluminous skirt, with gores, flounces, overskirts and richly embroidered panels, filled with floral designs. Rich jewelry was worn. In the house, the hair was dressed in luxuriant curls and waves, secured by decorative pins; out of doors

CHOICE SPECIMEN FROM THE TREASURES OF A ROYAL VILLA

Hagia Triada proved to be a rich storehouse of Minoan artistic objects. Notable among them is this steatite cup, only four inches in height, which is known as the Chieftain's Vase. It represents an overlord in imperious attitude with scepter held proudly before him, receiving homage from a vassal who, with weapon at the slope, stands at the head of a company of warriors carrying the towering shields characteristic of Minoan equipment.

Photos, G. Maraghianni

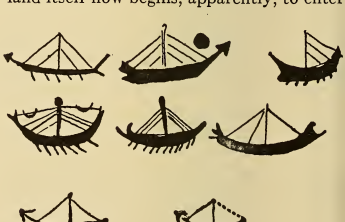
there were worn large shady hats trimmed with rosettes and ribbons; at worship, also, a high tiara with badges of metal under which the long tresses fell to the breast.

With the rebuilding of the palace at Cnossus a new period opens for Cretan culture in general, and comprises the first two phases of the Late Minoan age. Though Cnossus was now the premier city in the island, spreading over the countryside like a modern metropolis, Phaestus was still important, and other old settlements flourished side by side with new ones. Those which have been most completely explored, Palaikastro and Gournia, still show crowded houses and narrow tortuous streets. The house plans, too, are curiously persistent; an entrance passage flanked by outbuildings leads to a courtyard whence the living rooms get light and whence stairs lead to upper chambers.

The great palaces rose to a second and even a third floor of private suites. Wells, cisterns and other household appliances were within the house area. The larger houses had a principal reception room, pillared, and entered through a vestibule from the court; often also a bathing tank.

Furniture and household gear, costume and weapons, remain in essentials the same; but the gaudy polychrome vase-painting has given place to black silhouette-drawing on a light ground. Vases are usually wheel-made, of stately but not very varied shapes, and the technique of manufacture and decoration is superb. But the floral designs cease to be naturalistic, and become formal combinations of a few popular forms, lily, iris and rosette. Spiral ornament, so easily reproduced and adapted, becomes very popular. Magnificent work, of a more realistic kind, is still done in fresco painting, ivory carving, stone work and gem cutting, and there was evidently fine metal work to copy in commoner materials, though the originals (as usual) have perished.

In these gracious and comfortable surroundings the same highly organized industry and commerce went on as in the preceding age, but on an even more extensive scale, due to those oversea enterprises, which have already been noted, up the gulfs of the Greek mainland. In consequence of this exploitation the mainland itself now begins, apparently, to enter



SHIPS IN MIDDLE MINOAN DAYS

Ships figure on seals from the Early Minoan age onwards. In the Middle Minoan Age, as shown here, they were single-masted vessels with high sterns and barbed prows, and propelled by from five to fifteen oars a side.

From Sir Arthur Evans, 'The Palace of Minos'

the political arena.

Crete is relatively so large and difficult a region that it need not surprise us that in early days it was receiving more than it distributed, except in an elementary way. The smaller islands naturally matured earlier—perhaps even became over-populous and began to look abroad—and their culture was at the same time less dominated by foreign models from any one source. Accordingly in this early phase it was the Cyclades rather than Crete that were in direct communication with the western, and occasionally also with the northern, shores of the Aegean. These islands also took the lead in another department of skill, the decoration of their pottery by painted instead of incised ornament.

DIVERS ASPECTS OF THE MOTHER GODDESS

As Our Lady of the Mountains the mother goddess of Crete is figured standing on a peak in the seal-impression on the left; elsewhere (right) apparently as the Great Mother conjuring from heaven the apparition of her satellite god.

From Sir Arthur Evans, 'Palace of Minos,' Macmillan

The connection of the Cyclades with the mainland of Greece, which had been established so early and with such promise of a wide expansion received however a rude check about the time when the islands themselves were at their best. Somewhere in central Greece a fresh culture grew up or was intruded—it is not yet possible to say which—less artistic, and in particular devoid of vase painting, but evidently more vigorous than its neighbors. From the circumstance that one of its earliest and most enduring centers was at Orchomenus in northern Boeotia, it has been called 'Minyan' after the legendary dynasty which Greek folk-memory knew there; but, as with the word 'Minoan,' it is important to avoid misconceptions arising from the use of the name of a fourteenth century dynasty for a culture several centuries earlier. (See also under Chap. 12.)

The Boxer Vase, found at Hagia Triada, is eighteen inches in height. In the uppermost panel two boxers are struggling; the second shows a bull-leaping scene; in the third and fourth are other astonishingly energetic groups of boxers.

Courtesy of French School at Athens and Professor Halbherr

Northwards and southwards thence, this new culture spread rapidly, obliterating the aboriginal styles of Thessaly and the partly Aegean craftsmanship of the Isthmus region, and substituting for painted vases its own polished but undecorated grey ware, deep bowls with prominent handles and often a high pedestal. Of the people who brought about this change of style we know very little; only in the south we can see them gradually relaxing their own austere customs and adapting themselves to their new surroundings and neighbors, throughout the north-eastern Peloponnese, with considerable settlements in the plain of Argos, at Mycenae, Tiryns and Argos itself, sites which were to become powerful and famous later, under the stimulus of Cretan rather than Cycladic intercourse.

By the time of the

FRAGMENTS OF THE BRILLIANT FRESCOES THAT DELIGHTED MINOAN ROYALTY

In Late Minoan days the interior of the palace at Knossos was brilliantly decorated with fresco paintings; but owing to the tough and durable nature of the stucco employed it is often hard to deny that some may be survivals from the Middle Minoan regime. Sometimes the surface was flat, sometimes moulded as in the case of the 'Prince' (bottom left). The ladies illustrate Minoan dress and coiffure—she on the right is known as the 'Parisienne.' The 'Cup Bearer' (top right) gives the best impression of Cretan physique.

Prince fresco, courtesy of Sir Arthur Evans and Hellenic Society; Cup-bearer fresco, by permission of Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. John Murray; others, G. Maraghianni (Candia Museum)

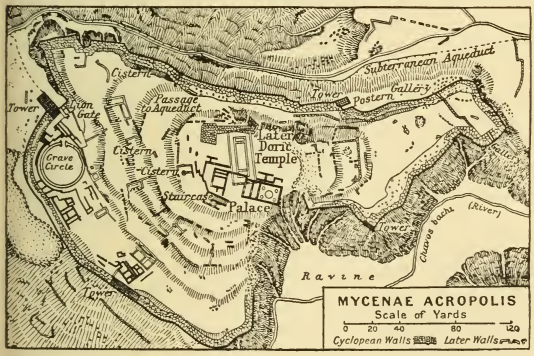
Cretan expansion during the Second Palace period, the Minyan culture had been fully acclimatized and a mainland variety of Aegean civilization grew up round the plain of Argos in particular, but also in the Saronic Gulf and round the Isthmus, combining Minyan and Minoan elements and evidently attaining a high level of prosperity. Principal sites which have been fully studied are Tiryns, an old fortress near the sea front of the plain, which was now rebuilt, if not refortified; Asine, in a stronger but more secluded position a little way down the gulf; and Mycenae, near the upper end of the Argive plain, guarding the pass through the hills to Corinth and the north.

CRADLE LAND OF MYCENAEAN CULTURE

The principal Greek sites where evidence of prehistoric culture has come to light are here shown. After a complicated development revealing the interaction of mainland and Cycladic strains, they fell under Cretan influence in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries; especially at the heads of the bays facing south-east.

'Golden Mycenae,' 'of the wide ways,' capital, palace and fortress of Agamemnon in the days of the Trojan War, lies, just as Homer described it long ago, 'in a nook of Argos,' the broad and once fertile plain which opens out into the gulf of the same name on the east coast of peninsular Greece. The sea frontage of the plain is about four miles, and level ground extends inland about eight miles.

A little to the east of this upper end of the plain nestles a lower spur, inconspicuous now, but once the most notable site of the whole district. In shape this hill resembles a human right foot cut off at the ankle, and planted with its heel against the mountain flanks and its toes pointing out into the plain. The main road from the sea and the plain winds up over the great toe to the outside of the ankle, turns,



WHAT REMAINS TO-DAY OF GOLDEN MYCENAE

Tiryns was a site of earlier importance on the Argos bay-head; the possibilities of Mycenae seem only to have been realized with the development of land-borne trade. It stood among the hills commanding the passes to the Isthmus. The Grave Circle originally lay without the city and was embraced by a later extension of the walls.

BARREN KNOLL NOW SCARRED WITH THE SPADE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGIST BUT ONCE CROWNED WITH MYCENAE'S TOWERS

The plain at the head of the Gulf of Argos, Greece, runs northward into the hills for about eight miles; and close to its upper end, from between two noble peaks, Elias and Szara, in its eastern rampart, a pair of torrent beds descends and diverges around an isolated knoll. On this finely defensible site lies all that now remains of once powerful Mycenae, capital of the Achaean war-lord Agamemnon and of kings long forgotten even in his day.

From British School at Athens Annual

and enters the citadel, whose rugged fortifications crown the whole like a giant's anklet and enclose all that is left of the prehistoric palace, and of a Greek temple which was built later over its remains.

Scattered over the lower slopes lay the living quarters of the town; between them the 'wide ways,' with their terraced fields, which caught the poet's eye; and among those fields, sunk in solid rock so that only their carved and painted portals betrayed their whereabouts, the splendid family vaults whose wealth, pillaged before Homer's own day, made Mycenae the 'golden city' of his song.

Three main stages may be distinguished in the long career of Mycenae. In the first, the citadel was still small, though heavily fortified, and the royal tombs of its owners were 'shaft graves' sunk in the rock, outside the walls, along the upper part of its main approach. How these were rediscovered by the persistence and enthusiasm of Heinrich Schliemann, in 1876 and onwards, is one of the romances of modern archaeology, and opens a new chapter in the story of prehistoric times. Their amazing contents, gold vessels, gold rings and necklaces, embossed and intricately decorated gold fittings and platings for furniture and clothing, of which the perishable parts are dust or splinters, revealed not only an elaborate craftsmanship and a wealth of complicated design, but a whole style of art, with traditions and ideals of its own, not merely pre-Hellenic—for this period of 'Mycenaean' civilization runs from about 1800 B.C. to 1500 B.C.—but utterly un-Hellenic, and unrelated (at the time of its discovery) to any comparable finds.

Only by slow degrees, until the patience and ingenuity of Sir Arthur Evans more than repeated in Crete the achievements of the discoverer of Mycenae, did the true bearing of the 'shaft graves' and their contents become clear, as the masterpieces of a colonial offshoot of the Minoan culture, planted on a mainland shore of its Aegean home, which, small as the Argive plain and its surroundings seem to modern eyes, must have loomed large as New England or Virginia before those first daring explorers of it.

At a later date, during some expansion of which we still know little, Mycenae,

together with its ancient burial ground, by then almost forgotten, was enclosed within a larger and more effective fortress-wall, with its imposing Lion Gate and flanking tower masking a new and more defensible approach. Only subsequently did pious or superstitious hands erect a stone ring-fence round all that could be identified of the old cemetery, and lay to rest within it all that could be collected of the old royal grave-

THE FAMOUS LION GATE AT MYCENAE AS IT IS TO-DAY

The true arch being unknown, lintels of Mycenaean doorways were often a single gigantic slab. To relieve such a lintel of the weight of superimposed masonry a triangular space would be left above it, usually filled in with an ornamental panel of no architectural significance. Such a panel is the famous relief over the main entrance to Mycenae, showing two heraldic lions guarding a sacred pillar.

Photo courtesy of Hellenic Society

STEPS THAT GAVE ACCESS TO THE GORGEOUS PALACE AT MYCENAE

Little of the palace at Mycenae remains apart from the foundations and the approaching flight of steps here seen from the north-west. The internal arrangements have features common to a Greek house of historical times, but to judge from fragments of cornices, rosettes and blue paste found among the ruins, nothing could be more foreign to classical ideas than the external decoration. *Photo, A. J. B. Wace*

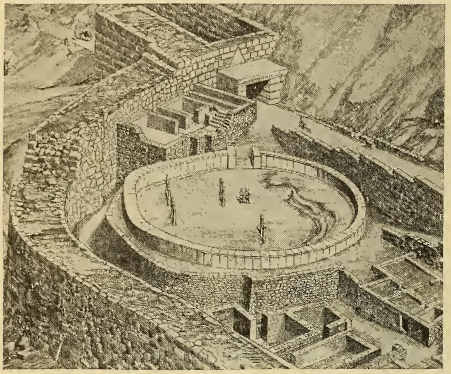
stones; where Heinrich Schliemann was to find them, and the graves themselves below.

These early shaft graves—or rather repositories for grave contents, in the ancient fashion described below—reveal as nothing else has done the great wealth of these colonial baronies. Much of the funerary equipment is of gold: drinking cups, personal ornaments, embossed plaques for the decoration of robes or hangings or wooden chests now perished, in great numbers and wide variety of design, with spiral patterns commonly, but also with figures of plants and animals and occasional human scenes, such as the lion hunt inlaid in a dagger blade with alloys of several colors ranging from pure gold to electrum.

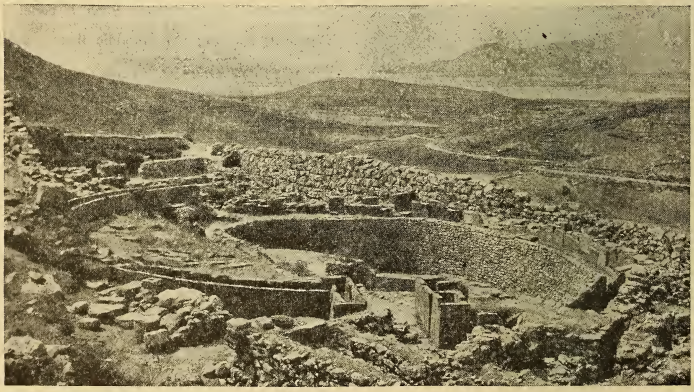
Silver is curiously rare, bronze very abundant and of bold designs, which help to explain some peculiarities of the pottery of this period and also identify as

Minoan work some of the vessels brought in tribute to Thothmes III; thus dating (incidentally) the 'shaft grave' period to the sixteenth century, or thereabouts.

Outside the citadel, and scattered over the lower slopes for some distance from it, lie other burial places, the famous 'beehive tombs,' more splendid architecturally than any shaft grave, and probably as richly furnished; but alas! more conspicuous, and all looted (it seems from their present state), or at all events cleared of their original contents, and in some instances repeatedly re-used. Even their sculptural façades have been shattered by later despoilers, and only the faultless workmanship of the largest of them—the Treasury of Atreus, as Greek antiquaries named it, after the father of Homer's 'Lord of Men,' Agamemnon—has resisted time and turmoil until to-day: a cupola of great masonry, nearly fifty feet in diameter and in height, with a door lintel weighing over forty tons. The form of these 'beehives' is noteworthy because it reproduces a form of funerary chamber which was characteristic of Early Minoan Crete, and probably belongs to its old Libyan heritage.



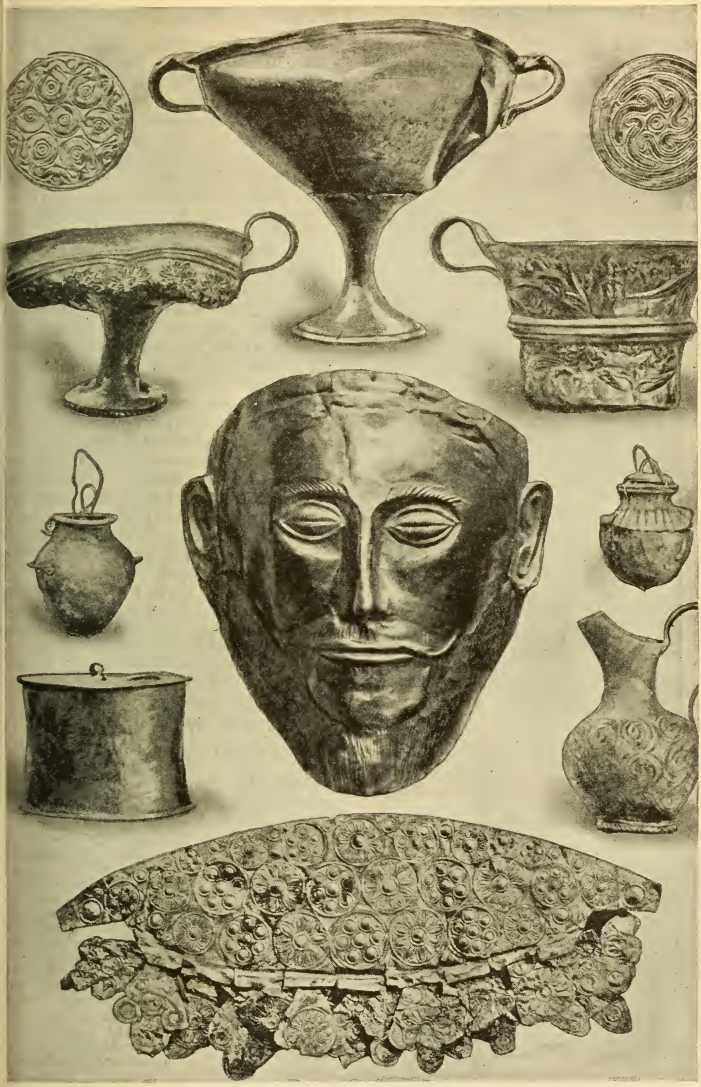
Careful examination of the debris of their floors, and of the remains of their carved or painted façades,



CIRCLE THAT CONTAINED THE ROYAL TREASURES OF THE 'SHAFT GRAVES'

As was usual in ancient times, the kings of Mycenae were buried without the wall; when this was extended to include their ancestral burial ground, it was not forgotten, but fenced round as a sacred enclosure, whose appearance to-day and probable appearance immediately after completion are indicated above. It was from the graves that Schliemann recovered the famous golden treasure. The restoration (top) includes the interior of the Lion Gate.

From British School at Athens Annual



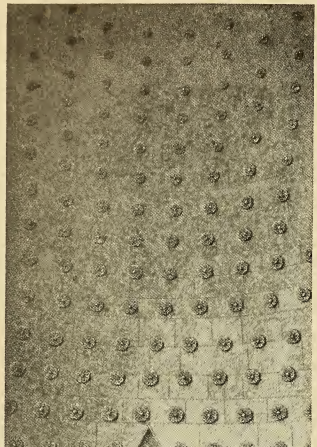
FINE SPECIMENS OF THE MYCENAEAN GOLDSMITH'S ART

National Museum, Athens

shows that they represent a stage in the history of Mycenae more closely connected with that of the shaft graves than was formerly supposed. The suggestion has even been put forward that the shaft graves themselves are the last resting-place of much of the first equipment and occupants of the 'beehives,' in accordance with a widespread custom of 'secondary burial' which made it possible to use the great funerary chambers again and again.

Of the palace belonging to the occupants of these beehive tombs, considerable ruins crown the citadel, approached by a broad staircase and entrance court on to which a portico opens from the vestibule of the main hall, with a painted stucco floor and walls in a style reminiscent of the palace decorations of Crete, and (still more closely) of the neighboring palace at Tiryns near the sea, even more magnificent in plan and much better preserved.

Though the mainland palaces are obviously meant for people of 'Minoan' culture and habits, their arrangements show that their occupants had in some respects been forced to accommodate themselves to unfamiliar conditions. The strong fortress walls and defensible gateways betray a state of insecurity not unnatural on the margin between a civilized and a still barbarous and turbulent region: the 'palaces' indeed have become 'citadels,' distinct from the lower town which each dominated. There is far less accommodation for workpeople—who seem to have



DETAILS OF ONE OF THE BEEHIVE TOMBS WHERE A DYNASTY OF MYCENAEAN KINGS WAS BURIED

Besides the shaft graves of the Grave Circle there are at Mycenae the great beehive tombs—domed structures built of upward-narrowing rings of masonry, sunk in the flank of rising ground and approached by a cutting. The most magnificent, and one of the completest, is the so-called 'Treasury of Atreus,' here shown in photograph and reconstruction. The interior (above, restored) seems to have been decorated with copper rosettes, since the holes for their attachment may still be seen in the stone; and unlike most other 'beehives' it had a subsidiary chamber.

Photo, British School at Athens Annual; reconstruction by Ch. Chipiez

lived outside as they could—less storage for produce, less provision for the public recreation which links all classes together and presumes common interests and tastes.

On the other hand, for those who lived in the citadel—the lord and his own retainers—the great hall was a far more important feature, and dominated the whole design of the building. The climate being here more continental than in the island world, and therefore liable to be colder, the great hall has a fixed central hearth, and consequently a roof with louvres to let out the smoke. There is an enclosed vestibule but no open 'light-well.' And the bathing tanks of Cnossus have been replaced at Tiryns by a stone-floored bathroom, with portable bath-tubs not too large to be conveniently filled with hot water, as the custom continued to be in Homeric society.

EXQUISITE METAL WORK

One of the most striking objects from the shaft graves was a splendid bull's head in silver. The horns and rosette on the forehead are of gold, and there are traces of gold inlay.

Courtesy of Hellenic Society

Life in these Mycenaean palaces in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. was an odd mixture of primitive simplicity and almost modern luxury. It was an age of easy achievement and rather gaudy display; of athletic sport, dangerous and even cruel games, prize-fighting and bull-baiting, as at Cnossus; but also the chase of the wild boar, and wild cattle in open country, and a good share of real war.

The men loved their horses and dogs, their lumbering loose-built oxen, their fishing and fowling, their deer-stalking, perhaps most of all their occasional encounter with the lions which came down among the herds. Their women were large-eyed, loose-haired, boydenish creatures in flounced and embroidered skirts and excessively low-necked jackets, who danced and played and hunted, it seems, like the men, and joined them in feast and worship, waved adieu to the fighting force as it marched out, and wept over an ownerless shield after the war was over.

DEFENDING A MYCENAEAN TOWN

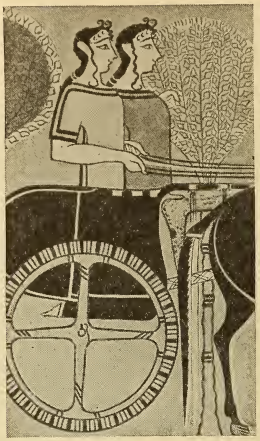
One of the most vivid vignettes of Mycenaean life that we possess is a fragment of a silver vase showing the siege of a city. Slingers, archers and spearmen make a sortie, while anxious women crowd the battlements and gesticulate.

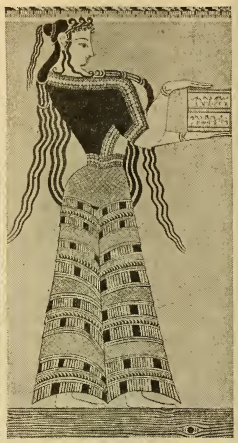
From Ephemeris Archaiologike, Athens

Standing as it did as an outpost of Minoan civilization towards the rugged and still barbarous interior of mainland Greece, Mycenae seems to have retained much of the earlier vigor and 'push' of its founders. How far it benefited also from the fresh blood of the mainlanders, or from the descendants of the Minyan invaders from central Greece, it is more difficult to decide. What is certain is that, in common with other mainland settlements, Mycenae found the predominance of the Cretan palace regime irksome and at last intolerable; and it was apparently the mainland states which were responsible for the destruction of the Palace of Cnossus, somewhere about 1400

B.C., and for the replacement of Cretan by Mycenaean style and mode of life in the archipelago generally. Probably we may recognize in the Athenian legend of the liberation of that part of the mainland by the local hero, Theseus, from a cruel Cnossian overlordship, folk-memory of this momentous crisis; and a Cretan legend of the overstraining of the resources of the 'sea power of Minos' in a Sicilian expedition, like that which ruined Athens in the fifth century B.C., perhaps gives a glimpse of the same catastrophe from another, though legendary, point of view.

Over the shattered sea power of Crete, Mycenaean adventure





DRESS OF MYCENAEAN LORDS AND LADIES

Owing to its having been longer deserted, the frescoes at Tiryns are better preserved than at Mycenae, which was an inhabited town in classical times. Both these are, of course, restored, but comparatively slightly. The priestess on the right wears the same open bodice and elaborate skirt affected by Minoan dames in Crete.

From Rodenwaldt, 'Tiryns'

STRENUOUS OCCUPATION OF LEISURE HOURS

Hunting and fighting seem to have occupied much of the time of the Mycenaean chieftains, if we may trust the incidents which they loved to have portrayed. Frescoes from the second palace at Tiryns illustrate the more peaceful of the two pursuits—a boar coursed by hounds and a huntsman with two spears. The execution is typically Cretan or Minoan.

From Rodenwaldt, 'Die Fresken des Tiryns'

MYCENAE'S VASSAL GUARDIAN AGAINST DANGER FROM THE SEA

If Mycenae can best be described as an acropolis, at least its walls came to enclose considerably more than the royal palace. Tiryns on the other hand seems to have been a feudal castle pure and simple—a complex of buildings for a chieftain, his troops and retainers like the palaces of Crete; only, unlike them, girt with massive fortifications. In Homer we hear of it as in the keeping of one of Agamemnon's barons; but it had been a site of older importance than Mycenae.

Reconstruction by Ch. Chipiez

THE STOUT WALLS ENCIRCLING THE SECOND PALACE AT TIRYNS

There were two successive palaces on the site of Tiryns, and at least two yet older establishments of an indeterminate nature. This is an early but ingenious conjecture as to its appearance during the latest phase, based on such objects as gold house-models. The approach was up the ramp, seen in this page, through the gate, and so to the left between two walls as far as the ceremonial gateway whose pillars are visible in the illustration at the top of this page.)

Reconstruction by Ch. Chipiez

spread rapidly, colonizing in its turn within the Aegean, in the central islands and in Rhodes and the coastal fringe as far north as Patmos; while along the frontage of the old Minyan region north of the Isthmus, coast settlements have been traced in Thessaly, and even in Macedonia, near Salonica. In the wide seas beyond the long breakwater of Crete, as far as Cyprus eastward, and westward to Corfu, South Italy and eastern Sicily, it was the same; and there was an active intercourse with Egypt during the reign of Amenhotep III and onwards, and with the prosperous and cultured states of the Syrian and Cilician coasts.

SCENE OF MYCENAEAN WARFARE

This ring-seal (enlarged) from one of the shaft graves illustrates, in use, the weapons shown below. The flexible leathern shield 'like a tower' recalls that of Ajax in Homer; the rapier is used only for thrusting; the helmets are of the boar-tusk construction; and there is no body armor.

National Museum, Athens

How far this wider extent of Mycenaean civilization centered politically, or even economically, on Mycenae it is difficult to judge, but the tombs of this period of expansion show us a rich, populous and widely connected city, practising the same arts and industries as of old, only with less solidity of construction, less accurate workmanship, less refinement and sobriety of taste. The shoddiness of many classes of objects, in fact, suggests large-scale production under stringent industrial conditions, where the workman was no longer his own master and produced his wares in workshops per-

FRESCOE IN MINOAN STYLE THAT ADORNED THE PALACE AT MYCENAE

Many fragments of frescoes came to light on the site of the Mycenaean palace. It is not easy to piece them together into coherent units, but Tsountas, the discoverer of these pieces, has made a convincing restoration by reference to similar work elsewhere. Two horses are led by grooms; the third groom seems to be of superior status—he wears greaves—and is probably the companion of the warrior on the right.

From British School at Athens Annual

functorily and to stock designs.

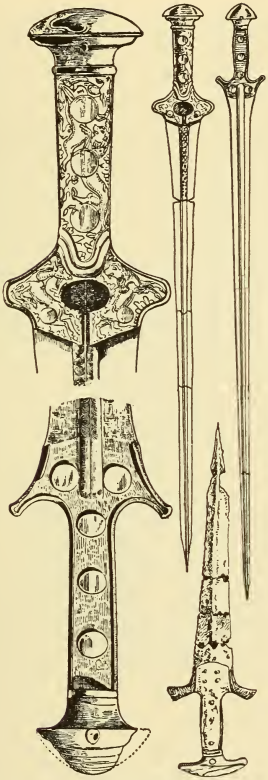
Wholesale and hurried repairs of the fortress wall, and the discovery of a foreign sword among the ruins of the palace, give us glimpses of political events—of warfare and siege—which we cannot verify at present; but there is ominously rapid improvement and considerable variety of type in weapons and armor of all kinds.

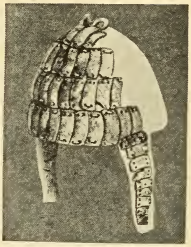
Thanks to the comparative accuracy of archaeological dating among the products of Egyptian art, and the fairly copious intercourse between the Mediterranean coasts and Egypt during this period of Mycenaean expansion, the latter part of this period becomes almost historical, in the stricter sense. A sudden change in the foreign policy of Egypt, and the terms of a defensive alliance concluded in about 1280 B.C. between Rameses II and the Hittite power in Asia Minor, are the prelude to a new age of violence and confusion which loomed up from the north-west—where 'the islands were troubled in the midst of the sea'—and broke in disastrous sea raids and land raids on both parties to the treaty, in the years about 1200 B.C.

It is within this disturbed period that Greek tradition placed the 'Trojan War,' dating it between 1194 and 1184 B.C. and regarding it as a quarrel between two Aegean leagues of peoples. Of these, the 'Trojan' confederacy had its center on the Dardanelles, with a sea front extending from Lycia to the Gulf of Salonica and also along the north shore of Asia Minor; presumably it covered large inland regions behind these coastlines, and probably it represents the western aspect of that group of peoples which achieved the great 'land raid' of 1190 and was only checked with difficulty by Egyptian forces in Palestine and by the Assyrians some way east of the Euphrates more than a generation later.

Its rival, however, an 'Achaean' confederacy, represented by feudally organized contingents from peninsular Greece, Crete, Rhodes and some of the smaller islands along the south-western coast of Asia Minor, was led by chiefs of the 'House of Atreus' settled at Mycenae and Sparta.

As 'Achaeans' are also mentioned among





ARMS OF THE WARRIORS WHO FOUGHT FOR THE MASTERY OF THE AEGEAN

The perforated segments of boar's tusk (top) discovered at Mycenae have been proved to be the armoring of a leather helmet, and are now sewn to a cap with cheek-pieces to show their original arrangement. Below are a series of swords from an ancient cemetery at Cnossus (L.M. II and III); they illustrate the weapons in common use when Mycenae was taking the place of Crete.

Helmet, British School at Athens; swords after Sir Arthur Evans in 'Archaeologia'

the sea-raiding enemies of Egypt in the same generation, it seems certain that Homer's Achaeans represent a historical league or feudal grouping of Aegean peoples; and as their most important princes, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Ajax, Achilles, Diomedes, Idomeneus, Odysseus, are of families which had appeared suddenly and simultaneously in various districts of Greece, two generations before the Trojan War, it is inferred that they represent a western wing of those 'Phrygian' newcomers who had fortified Troy, according to the tradition, in that same generation, and had been engaged in warfare in the interior of Asia Minor soon after; about the time of the 'mutual-insurance' treaty of 1280 between Egypt and the Hittites.

The 'Achaean' regime described in the Homeric poems seems therefore to be a late and brief episode in the Minoan decline; established only about 1280 B.C., it collapsed about 1100 B.C. before the

FAILING CRAFTSMANSHIP OF THE LATE MYCENAEAN POTTER

Decided decadence in form and decoration marks the ceramic art of the Late Mycenaean period. It is noticeable in the large krater (top left) from Enkomi in Cyprus, with its horse and chariot design, and equally in the stirrup-vase from Rhodes (bottom left). Other representative specimens of the pottery of this period are the vases (bottom right and top center) from the necropolis of Kalyvia near Phaestus, and the two remaining votive vases from the cave of Zeus on Mount Dikte.

British and Candia Museums

SEALS THAT BRIDGE THE GULF BETWEEN MYCENAE AND THE CLASSICS

As a link with the future we conclude with a group of impressions from ring bezels found at Thisbe in Boeotia. Of typical Minoan craftsmanship, they are all interesting, whether as showing costume like No. 3 (goddess with attendants) or animal life like No. 5. But the first is of a man fighting a sphinx, which reminds us at once of the Boeotian legend of Oedipus; No. 2 suggests the meeting of Oedipus with his father; while No. 4 resembles Persephone rising from the underworld, and No. 6 the huntress Artemis. Do these well-known Greek tales go back to Mycenaean times?

Courtesy of Hellenic Society and Sir Arthur Evans

southward migration of the historical Dorian tribes, whom later Greek writers described as originating in Macedon and the highlands west of it, and invading the Peloponnese from the north-west.

Reviewing then the main course of events, we have traced the first occupants of the Aegean region converging upon it from distinct sources, with different heritages of culture. They intermingled and coalesced in insular seclusion, among natural conditions favorable to the creation of a fresh type of civilization, appropriate to this exceptional region. The greater resources of Crete enabled this larger island to outrun earlier rivals, and to realize an expansion into neighboring regions to the north-west which the others had been prevented from achieving.

In this direction the spread of Minoan culture was relatively easy coastwise; but it failed to dominate the interior, even in the south, while the old Thessalian barbarism was less affected by it than by the native Minyan movement on its own southern border. Minyan precursors in the southern districts of the mainland prepared the way for divergent development in the Mycenaean province, and it was probably this divergence that eventually split the Minoan world into mainland and Cretan halves, and brought about the collapse of the latter about 1400 B.C., perhaps at the hands of a Mycenaean confederacy.

This mainland or colonial culture, in its turn, overstrained itself in widespread exploitation of the Mediterranean coasts from Philistia to Sicily, and perhaps even farther west, and fell to pieces at the shock of barbarian conquest, from which the long centuries of the Minoan development had, so far as we can discover, been free.

THE NEW PEOPLES: A STUDY OF RACE MOVEMENTS

TRACING THE ANTECEDENTS OF CERTAIN IMPORTANT TRIBES THAT NOW MAKE THEIR FIRST APPEARANCE IN HISTORY

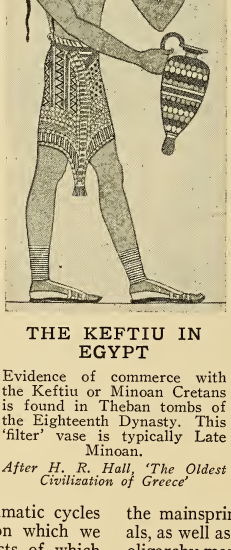
By R. A. S. MACALISTER, Litt.D., LL.D.

Professor of Celtic Archaeology, University College, Dublin; Author of A Textbook of European Archaeology, The Philistines, Their History and Civilization, etc.

THE center of gravity of the science of history has shifted its position. It is no longer "history" pure and simple; rather is it the composite discipline called "historical geography." Nature, not Man, is now regarded as taking the initiative in the expeditions of which the pages of history are so full. No longer can ambition be considered to be their primary motive; we must be content to ascribe them ultimately to the necessity of satisfying the rudimentary needs of the human animal.

No land, however wide, and however fertile its soil may be, can support more than a limited number of inhabitants. If the population should increase beyond that number, the superfluous must either emigrate or die; there is no other alternative.

Moreover, the limitation of productivity, and the consequent limitation of the possible number of inhabitants, is not always invariable, but is subject to fluctuations of various kinds. Without the least warning, an earthquake may destroy a thriving town; a volcano may cover a smiling landscape with a barren sea of lava. There are complex climatic cycles of longer or shorter duration which we cannot explain, but the effects of which we may see in alternations of drought and fertility. The welfare of the human community is like a very sensitive recording instrument, and even minor fluctuations of the kind have an influence upon it. The failure of the potato-crop in 1847 made permanent changes in the whole economic aspect and polity of Ireland. Causes such as these must be sought for when we try to explain movements of peoples, both in ancient and in modern times.



THE KEFTIU IN EGYPT

Evidence of commerce with the Keftiu or Minoan Cretans is found in Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This 'filter' vase is typically Late Minoan.

After H. R. Hall, 'The Oldest Civilization of Greece'

The investigations of Raphael Pumpelly at Anau in Turkistan have shown the important influence of droughts upon the movements of peoples in the remote past. In much more recent times, the unrest prevalent in Europe during the period of the 'Völkerwanderungen'—those seemingly pointless migrations of the different Teutonic tribes from place to place, often over very long routes of travel—was ultimately due to a time of climatic severity in nearer Asia, which drove the Mongol tribes inhabiting that region westward into Europe.

This sordid struggle between those that have and those that have not is the mainspring of internal social upheavals, as well as of external colonization. An oligarchy may stand between a community

and desirable luxuries, if not necessities of life. Not infrequently the leaders of revolt, sheltering themselves under the much misused name of democracy, establish a new oligarchy; and so set the stage for later explosions in later generations. Thus does history repeat itself; for human needs are the same as they were in the Stone Age; and the earth cannot yield more to human acquisitiveness than it actually contains.

We have now a clear knowledge of the development of civilization in the regions of the nearer East during the Bronze Age. The writings of Egypt and of Babylonia have preserved to us rich historical material, in the more limited sense of the word, from the same period; and we may hope that these will be supplemented when the Cretan tablets are deciphered. Richer still is the matter that comes to us from the time after the Iron Age was well established. But between these two clearly lighted epochs there is an interval of obscurity.

It is plain that this hiatus-time, which fills two centuries at the beginning of the last millennium B.C., was a time of disturbance; but from out of it was born the modern world. The door was closed upon the ancient civilizations: Egypt, Crete, Babylon passed into history, or at most emerged shorn for ever of their glory. Over the fields from which their influence was thus uprooted there were sown seeds that were to develop into the religious insight of the Hebrews, the art and philosophy of the Greeks, the legal and political genius of the Romans. During this time of unrest, the twin foundations of European civilizations were laid—alphabetic writing and the use of iron.

During this time of unrest, once more, new peoples may be seen to spring up wherever we turn our eyes; this is perhaps its most striking characteristic. These appear suddenly, without introduction, in the records that Egyptian or western Asiatic kings have left us. If our knowledge and records were complete, we should naturally relate the events in their logical historical order. But this is not possible. We have no direct information about the antecedent events. We must work backward, beginning with the latter end of the chain.

SHIRDANU ARMED WITH SPEAR AND SHIELD

In the Tell el-Amarna letters, the period of which is approximately 1400 B.C., the Shirdanu are the first of the Northerners to be mentioned. In the 13th century they again figure in the records, this time as mercenaries in the army of Rameses II.

Courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society

The invasions of Egypt by "the Peoples

FACIAL TYPES OF SOME OF EGYPT'S INVADERS FROM THE NORTH

There has been much discussion as to the identity of the Peoples of the Sea who in 1296 B.C. assumed a hostile attitude towards Egypt, and some seventy years later formed a coalition and organized a military expedition against that country, only to be repulsed by Merneptah. It is now generally agreed that the Shirdanu or Sherden were the people afterwards called Sardinians.

Courtesy of Sir Flinders Petrie

of the Sea" form perhaps the most convenient starting-point for our investigation. The names of some of these "Peoples" appear already in the Tell el-Amarna letters, but not in such a context as to prepare us for later developments. The Shirdanu seem to be actually allies or mercenaries of the Egyptian party in Syria. The same may perhaps be said of the Shikhlali. The Danuna are said to be "peaceful" after a change of monarchy which does not seem to affect greatly either the writer or the recipient of the letter. The only jarring note is a complaint of annual raids made by the Lukki upon the territory of the king of Alashiya.

The Lukki are easily to be identified with the Lycians, and we hear of them again at a later date in the warfare between Rameses II and the Hittites. With other communities of Asia Minor, they are allies of the latter against the king of Egypt. Among these auxiliaries of the Hittites we can recognize Mysians, Dardanians and Cilicians.

Thus in 1400 B.C., approximately the period of the Amarna letters, the "Peoples of the Sea" gave no trouble to Egypt, and were guilty only of local raids in North Syria. But in 1296 they definitely took up a position hostile to Egypt. Seventy-five years later, in the days of Merneptah, they directed their hostility against Egypt itself. In 1221 B.C. a coalition united itself with the Libyans of North Africa in an endeavor to make Egypt a prey; but it was repulsed by the Pharaoh.

The coalition included the ubiquitous Lycians, along with the Shirdanu, the Shakalash, the Akaiwasha and the Tursha. The first of these names we have already heard. The second is clearly in some way cognate with the name of the island of Sardinia. The Shakalash, who are doubtless to be identified with the Shikhlali, are generally understood to be connected with the town of Sagalassus in Pisidia. The Akaiwasha are to be identified with the Achaeans. The Tyrrhenians are to be seen in the Tursha, but here again the name is to be considered as "proleptic"; they are the people who are afterwards to settle in Italy and be known as the Tyrrhenians.

A SARDINIAN WARRIOR

Found in Sardinia, this bronze statuette represents a warrior of the same type as the antagonists and mercenaries of the Pharaohs, and thus supports the view that the Shirdanu were Sardinians.

British Museum

Some thirty years later, in the days of Rameses III, Egypt was faced with a much more serious menace. This was not a mere military expedition. The pictures that accompany the story show us the raiders advancing with wagons, containing their wives and children. Clearly they are seeking a new home, presumably because they have in some way been driven out from their former dwelling.

But they reckoned without Rameses III, the last energetic monarch whom Egypt enjoyed. He was fully alive to the danger; and, aware that attack is often the best defense, he vigorously attacked the invaders. Both by sea and by land the defeat of the Peoples of the Sea was complete, and Egypt, for the time, at least, was saved.

The names of the tribes with which Rameses had to contend are similar to, though not altogether identical, with those upon which we have already commented. First in importance are the Pulasati, of whom we now hear for the first time; with Zakkala, Shakalash, Danuna and Washasha.

That the Pulasati are to be identified with the Philistines of Hebrew history there can be no doubt. Driven back from the goal of their desires in Egypt, they found a footing upon the coast of

Palestine. Their power was not broken until the time of David (2 Samuel 5, 17-25); their language lingered in Ashdod until the time of Nehemiah (see Nehemiah 13, 24). They had a government of city states, each presided over by a lord, called 'seren' (plural 'seranim') in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. A constant tradition connects them with Caphtor, that is, with Crete (as, for example, in Amos 9, 7); but they were not necessarily pure Cretans, for there is some evidence of an element in their composition derived from Caria, on the adjacent mainland.

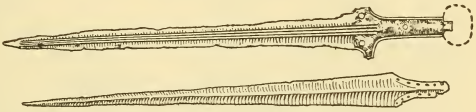
The Zakkala are rather more obscure, so far as their origin is concerned. There is a modern place-name, Zakro, in Crete, with which it is tempting to associate them; but this cannot be proved to be a name of high antiquity. They were at least as formidable a people as their Philistine kinsfolk, and they were no less highly civilized. The Golénischeff papyrus shows them firmly established upon the coast of Syria, from Dor northward as far as Byblus. Like the Philistines, their cities are ruled each by an independent lord, and these potentates are powerful and self-reliant rulers; the king of Byblus lives in a palace of no mean character, and he keeps his accounts upon rolls of papyrus.

PHILISTINES CAPTURED IN WAR

Although he defeated them with the other 'Peoples of the Sea,' as is clearly implied in the above panel, Rameses III could not prevent the Philistines—a vigorous and warlike people—from becoming dominant in southern Palestine.

Courtesy of Sir Flinders Petrie

It is probable that the other 'Peoples' became merged in these two prominent members of their coalition. So far as their origin is concerned, the Shakalash are probably, as we have seen, the Sagalassians; the Danuna seem to be Danaoi of the Homeric poems. The name of the Washasha may be identified with place or population names that meet us both in Caria (Oassians) and in Crete (Vaxioi).



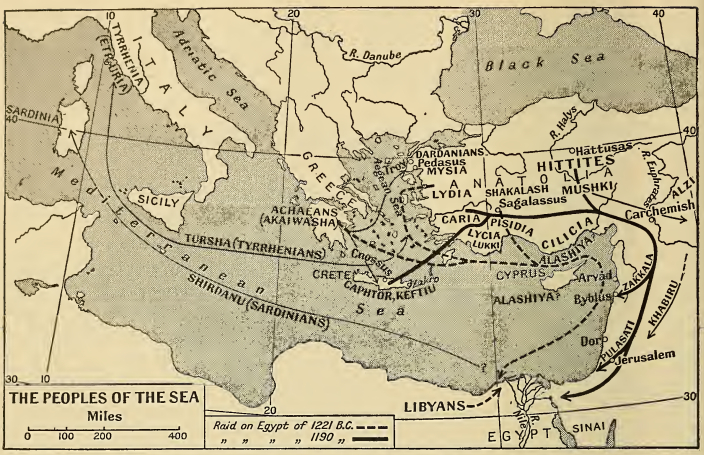
OLD CRETAN AND SARDINIAN SWORDS

Straight, long, thin and rapier-like, the characteristic Minoan bronze sword (top) was a thrusting, not a cutting weapon. So, too, was the heavier, broader-bladed sword used by the Shirdanu, as shown by the Sardinian statuette in this page. Splendid specimens of both have been recovered; the Sardinian (lower) is really almost twice as long as the Cretan.

Candia and British Museums

This event, and the analysis of the tribal names involved, teach us that at the beginning of the twelfth century B.C. there was some kind of stress in western Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean, which made it necessary for the inhabitants to seek a fresh abiding-place. The pressure, whatever its nature, drove another emigration eastward. Somewhere west of the Taurus Mountains there had dwelt a people called in the Assyrian records Mushki—the "Meshech" of the second chapter of Genesis and the "Moschoi" of Herodotus. About 1160 B.C., some thirty years after the attack on Egypt in the days of Rameses III, occupied two Assyrian provinces, Alzi (the Alse of the Hittite records) and Perikuzzi, at the head-waters of the Tigris. These they held for fifty years, until they were routed by Tiglath-pileser I.

There was a westward migration also, at about the same time. The colonization of central Italy by the Etruscans seems now to have taken place. We do not know their language, or any language like it; so that we cannot read the numerous inscriptions that they have left to us. We have, therefore, nothing to set beside what we can glean from their tomb-paintings about their religion. Their



HOMES AND MOVEMENTS OF THE NORTHERN COALITION AGAINST EGYPT

In 1221 B.C. the various tribes termed collectively in Egyptian records 'the Peoples of the Sea' combined in a military expedition to overthrow the supremacy of the Pharaohs. Thirty years later a similar coalition embarked upon a more serious movement upon Egypt with the object of possessing themselves of that land for their own permanent occupation. After their defeat by Rameses III they became distributed over Asia Minor, Syria and the Mediterranean region.

government is exotic in the Indo-European surroundings in which the Etruscans find themselves in Italy; but their "lucumones," or city-state presidents, have a suggestive resemblance to the 'seranim' of the Philistines. They were in bitter enmity to the new-born state of Rome; but, if we may credit tradition, they gave to it some of its early kings, and undoubtedly they exercised no small formative influence upon the early development of its civilization. It is now a matter of common agreement that we are to look to Asia Minor as the land of their origin. Their settlement in Italy was one more incident in the general dispersal of peoples which took place from that center in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. (see further under Chap. 30.)

Let us now turn to Asia Minor itself, and see whether its scanty records present further evidence for the unrest which we may infer from these migrations. We are confronted at the outset by the familiar tale of Troy. It is unnecessary to describe this city and its remains at any length in this place, as these form the subject of Chapter 22. Whatever may be the truth underlying the details of the preliminary events that are said to have led up to the assault and capture of this city by a coalition under the leadership of the Mycenaean king Agamemnon—and of the occurrences at and after the siege itself—it is legitimate to infer from them that there must have been some sort of invasion of the Troad at the time when the sack of Troy is said to have taken place. The traditional date of the event is within some twenty-five years of the emigration of the Moschoi.

But the key to the whole problem is to be sought in the fate of the Hittite empire. The Hittites, at the time of their greatest power, had been able to extort from the Pharaoh a treaty not unfavorable to themselves. The power of the Hittite Empire, while it lasted, was sufficient to present a strong resistance to external colonization; it was, indeed, the

chief bulwark which protected the weaker peoples of Anatolia from invasion and supersession by land-hungry strangers.

Greece was not far off; and Greece, not being conspicuously fertile is compelled to export its superfluous population. The western shores of Asia Minor offered irresistible attractions to Greek settlers, and such must have begun to filter into those regions from a comparatively early date. Indeed, the Trojan war may be reduced to an incident in the history of the Greek colonization of Asia Minor.

The Hittite kings were well advised in resisting colonization; for it was this colonization that was the prime cause of the destruction of the Hittite power. The narrow straits that separate Asia Minor from Europe were inadequate to keep out the little communities who crossed over here and there, and gradually spread over the northern part of the peninsula. Step by step the Hittite Empire began to be cut short.

The fall of Troy gave a great impetus to western colonization in the north-west corner of the region; and it is suggestive that just about the time of the fall of Troy the Hittite records of Boghaz Keui come to an abrupt end, and the city itself ceases to be the capital of the empire very shortly after. That the pressure which broke the Hittite power came from the north and west may be inferred from the fact that the center of the remnant was transferred far to the south-east, to Carchemish.

We are now in a better position to set forth, in a logical historical order, the course of events, so far as they can be recovered.

Let us begin at the year 1400 B.C. About that time Egypt was enjoying the greatest extension of her power, under one of the greatest of her monarchs, Amenhotep III. The rule of Egypt extended over Palestine and up to Syria, where it bordered on the sphere of influence of the Hittite Empire, then likewise at its greatest height under Subbiluliuma.

Between the upper waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris was a kingdom called Mitanni whose people spoke an Indo-European language. Cnossus still retained its domination over Crete, and its influence in art and in politics over the neighboring islands and mainland coasts. On the north-west corner of Asia Minor stood the ancient city of Troy, then almost at the summit of its importance; and in the Peloponnesus was its great and wealthy rival Mycenae.

TYPICAL PULASATI HEADS

A Cretan or Carian origin has been ascribed to the people named Pulasati in the records left by Rameses III. After their repulse from Egypt they found a footing on the coast of Palestine and are certainly to be identified with the Philistines, whose later history is written in the chronicles of the Hebrews.

Courtesy of Sir Flinders Petrie

For the moment the world seemed to be at peace, but only a push was needed to throw everything into confusion. Here the Achaeans come on the scene. The destruction of Cnossus, generally attributed to their agency. Inevitably this caused a dispersal of the population of Crete, and a consequent colonization of the islands and the mainland, that would, to say the least, crowd inconveniently the earlier inhabitants.

At about the same time the domination of Egypt in Palestine and Syria was gravely challenged: a challenge all the more effective by reason of the astonishing events that were soon to take place in Egypt itself. Just when an energetic ruler was most needed, Amenhotep III

died, and his place was taken by Akhnaton, who, was not a competent Pharaoh.

The challenge was ostensibly offered by certain Aramaean bandits, who are called Sutu and Khabiru in the Tell el-Amarna letters. Whoever the Khabiru may have been, and whatever was their ultimate origin, we may infer (from the fact that they also appear in the Boghaz Keui tablets) that they were at first dwellers in some land north of Palestine, and that it was from that direction that they made their raids. We must infer, too, from the Tell-el-Amarna letters that the process of colonization of Palestine by the Khabiru continued almost unchecked; and that, at last, the Canaanites were compelled to accept them as neighbors.

AMORITE ALLIES OF THE HITTITE KING

These figures, representing some of the prisoners of war taken from the Hittite confederate army at the battle of Kadesh, can be identified by comparison as Amorites from the Orontes Valley and Lebanon districts. After some critical hours the battle eventually turned in favor of Rameses II.

Courtesy of Professor Garstang

But if so, and if the Hebrews are to be regarded as the descendants of these Khabiru, then what are we to make of the story of the escape from Egypt? It is best to assume that the story of the Exodus does not refer to the whole body of Hebrews settled in Palestine, but to a comparatively small number of the people called Hebrews. The picturesque traditions of this smaller body were in time adopted as the official history by the whole body of the Hebrew people.

Both by arms and by intrigue was Egypt challenged in Palestine, Syria and Mitanni. Undoubtedly the surrounding peoples profited to the full by Akhnaton's neglect of his military duties. Subbiluliuma, whose best energies were given to the expansion of his empire, fought against Carchemish and Syria, and reduced Mitanni to vassalage.

When he died, his two sons quarreled about the succession; and this dispute cannot but have weakened the empire. It still had plenty of vitality, however. The old jealousy between the Hittites and the Egyptians continued. The Hittites maintained relations with Palestine, presumably in order to provide a base for a contemplated future attack on their enemy's country itself. This attack, however, never came to fruition. In or about 1300 the empire lay between the strong fortress of Troy on the one hand, and the Assyrians on the other, who even in those early days were showing symptoms of an ambition for world domination. They attacked Carchemish successfully, notwithstanding the support given by the Hittites.

WARRIORS OF ACHAEAN STRAIN

From their physiognomy and armor these figures are supposed to represent Achaean adventures from the neighborhood of Troy who joined the Hittites as mercenaries in their trial of strength with the Pharaohs.

Courtesy of Professor Garstang

It is suggestive to note the contrast between the assault on Egypt under Rameses II and that under Merneptah. In the first the Hittites were the leaders, and associated with themselves a number of the minor tribes of Anatolia. In the second, the Hittites dropped out almost completely; it was the lesser folk that took the initiative and leagued themselves with the Achaeans.

And now we are suddenly surprised by the collapse of Troy, followed closely by the collapse of Hattusas, the city whose site is now called Boghaz Keui. Asia Minor fell to pieces, and from its seething cauldron communities hastened forth in all directions in search of homes elsewhere.

From first to last the hidden hand of the Achaeans is at work. Who, then, were these Achaeans?

According to ancient authorities, the aboriginal inhabitants of Greece and the adjoining lands were a people called "Pelasgians." The name apparently means "sea-folk," and is simply a term used by the writers of classical Greece to express their realization of the fact that they and the people to which they belonged were not the first inhabitants of their country. Undoubtedly there were aboriginal inhabitants living in Greece and in the adjacent islands. To this people is to be ascribed the development of the Minoan culture. If we call them Pelasgians, we can do so without implying that they were racially homogeneous.

The Greeks themselves seem to have believed that the Achaean invasion took place some three or four generations before the Trojan war, and we may reasonably infer that at a comparatively short time before the event named a new people appeared in the Greek region. By the time of Homer the Achaeans had completely superseded the Pelasgians in the occupation of the Greek peninsula.

We may take this much for granted. The Pelasgians gave place to the Achaeans at some time (very roughly) about 1300 B.C. Before that date civilization was predominantly Pelasgian. After that date, civilization became predominantly Achaean. But when we venture further than these simple postulates, we find ourselves involved in a quagmire of hotly disputed questions.

According to one theory, the Achaeans, some of whom are described as being fair, or at least brown-haired, in contrast with the dark-haired Mediterranean Pelasgians, were originally a non-Greek body of invaders of Nordic blood. These, coming from the north, are said to have imported the iron culture and all the other changes in civilization which we can see taking place in the Aegean lands at this time. They took Pelasgian wives, and in consequence acquired the Pelasgian language (presumed to be an early form of Greek); by constant intermarriage their own racial peculiarities were in time bred out, so that the Pelasgian characteristics still prevail in the population of Greece.

The rival theory assumes that the

SOLDIERS OF THE SUB-MYCENAEAN AGE

The relationship of Achaean civilization and culture to those of the Mycenaean age is still in dispute. On this sherd (of Achaean ware?) from Tiryns the warriors are depicted with breastplates and round targes; normally the Mycenaeans used tower-like or figure-of-eight shields and no body armor.

From Furtwängler, Mykenische Vasen

Achaeans were from the first a Greek people, living in the northern part of Greece; and that they moved southward and assumed a domination over the rest of their Hellenic brethren.

On the whole the former hypothesis seems to fit the facts better; and it offers a complete—some might be so perverse as to say a too complete—explanation of the phenomena which the history of Greece, the Aegean and the coasts of Anatolia present at the time of unrest with which this chapter is concerned. Such an invasion, by a powerful race belonging to the vigorous Nordic stock, would account for the sudden collapse of empires which we hear crashing around us as we take our stand in Asia Minor at the beginning of the last millennium B.C.

The theory is, however, not free from difficulties; and we may freely concede that at this stage we definitely enter the realm of hypothesis. With this word of caution, we may allow ourselves to be led away from Greece and the Aegean Sea into central and northern Europe. There is not wanting evidence that changes were taking place there also. We find subtle modifications in art, and in the styles of tools and of weapons, pointing to the conclusion that central and northern Europe were as much in unrest as was the Mediterranean; that there were movements of peoples there also, of which the postulated Achaean invasion was but a single incident.

If this were truly so, analogy suggests that the ultimate cause of all the disturbances, whose records we have been endeavoring to systematize, will be found in that ancient troubler of Europe, Turkistan. The wild nomad tribes of that inhospitable land had found themselves driven from it by climatic and economic conditions worse than usual, and, pressing in upon eastern Europe, they drove the original dwellers hither and thither before them.

These movements of peoples set the stage for a new world; a world the history of which is still in progress, and which differs profoundly from its predecessor. It can show countless religious and social institutions and conventions, countless refinements of civilization, that were unimagined in the old world. The germ of their development lies latent in three fundamental points of difference, three changes which began to take place during this time of great stress: the use of iron, the use of alphabetic writing, and the diffusion of the Indo-European languages.

The use of iron begins to be general in Egypt about 1300 B.C. In southern Europe it begins to appear somewhere roughly about 1100 B.C. The Philistines were in possession of the metal when the Hebrews were just emerging from their Bronze Age, and presumably the Achaeans who were associated with the Philistines were similarly equipped; but even if we accept the theory of the Achaeans being a body of invaders from the north, for the reason stated we are hardly justified in crediting them with the introduction of iron. Indeed, it is quite reasonable to suppose that the violent disturbance their entrance produced led to the diffusion of a knowledge of the nature and use of the metal, which may conceivably have been kept previously by the few cognizant of it as a trade secret.

An equal obscurity hides from us the origin of the alphabet. During the Bronze Age the more important empires had possessed and freely practiced the art of writing; but so cumbrous were the syllabic scripts of which they made use, that the art must of necessity have been a monopoly of a limited class, who were able to devote their whole time to its acquisition and cultivation.

All the existing alphabets of Europe are ultimately derived from a common original, an early form of the Greek alphabet, as we find it in certain inscriptions of the eighth century B.C. These inscriptions are written from right to left, and in this respect, as well as in the forms of the individual letters, they resemble the old Semitic inscriptions of Syria and Palestine which are undoubtedly their prototype.

The Greek alphabet, however, differs in one essential point from the Semitic script. It is a true alphabet, in which vowels and consonants are given equal rank. The Semitic script is a syllabary of twenty-two characters, each of which represents a consonant that may be sounded alone, or followed by an undefined open vowel. It is left to the reader's knowledge of the language to determine how the vowels are to be filled in Certain

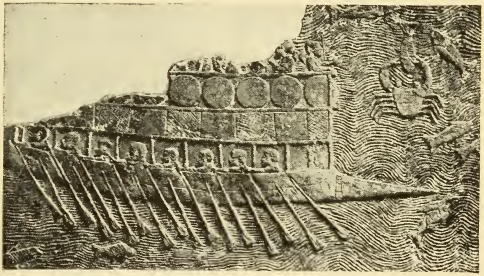
of these letters represent consonantal sounds peculiar to the Semitic languages; the Greeks gave those letters the force of vowels, so that even a reader ignorant of Greek may at least offer a reasonable guess at the pronunciation of the words before him; an analogous feat is impossible in the case of a Semitic inscription.

The constant tradition of the Greeks was to the effect that the Phoenicians had taught them to write, and one Cadmus, a Phoenician colonist in Thrace, was named as the author of this boon. The Phoenicians had for long been settled on the western slopes of Mount Lebanon. They were a Semitic people, closely cognate with the Hebrews, and speaking a language that differed only dialetically from the Hebrew tongue.

Undoubtedly they were more highly civilized than the Hebrews, at any rate in the time of Solomon. On the other hand, for a people credited with the invention of the alphabet, they were singularly devoid of any interest in literature. They developed a taste for seafaring, unlike any other Semitic community; they sent out colonies to North Africa and even as far as Spain. For a time Tyre commanded the Mediterranean sea-trade; but their sailors seldom ventured out of sight of land, even in their longest journeys.

The Golénischeff papyrus gives us some suggestions toward the interpretation of these anomalies. For a time round about 1115 B.C. Phoenicia was under the control of the Zakkala. These people were kin to the Philistines, were true "Peoples of the Sea," and so were accustomed to ships. There is no evidence for Phoenician sea-craft before the Zakkala established themselves on their coasts: it is surely reasonable to infer that it was the Zakkala who taught the art of navigation to the Phoenicians, and revealed to them the possibilities of oversea trade. Until the time of the Zakkala, the history of Phoenicia is nothing but a record of the transits of great foreign conquerors.

Moreover, the document above quoted shows us the king of the Zakkala keeping his accounts on papyrus; and it would appear that those accounts were kept in some simple form of script, which even a king could learn to read; and not in the cumbrous hieroglyphic or hieratic script of Egypt, which would call for the services of a clerk. Now, there is not a scrap of writing extant in the so-called Phoenician script older than the time of the occupation of Phoenicia by the Zakkala, unless we are to except the recently discovered sarcophagus of Ahiram at Byblus, which has been claimed to date back to the time of Rameses II.



MERCHANT ADVENTURERS OF LONG AGO

Archaeological traces of the Phoenicians in the Aegean are not very apparent, but their presence in Greek waters is vouched for by constant tradition and by the occurrence of place names of Phoenician origin. This Assyrian bas-relief depicts a Phoenician ship of the seventh century B.C.

British Museum

The question of the origin of the Semitic script is further complicated by the strange graffiti that have been found at Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai peninsula. These necessarily teach us caution; but it is still a reasonable anticipation that we shall learn to ascribe to the Zakkala the gift of alphabetic writing to the Phoenicians, and through them to the modern world. But if we ask whence the Zakkala, in their turn, may have derived the alphabet, for it is incredible that it could have been an entirely new invention, the only answer that can, for the present at least, be given is a frank confession of ignorance.

In the old world the Indo-Europeans had an inconspicuous place. In the new world, however, the Indo-European is predominant. In Basque, Europe retains one fossil of ancient speech; and in Finnish, Turkish and Magyar she possesses exotics; but otherwise the Indo-European tongues are universal. No survey of the "new peoples" can neglect this parallel phenomenon of the new languages.

The place of origin of the Indo-European languages, and the manner of their distribution, offer problems which seem to be no nearer solution than they ever were. The extant remains of Indo-European speech do not go back much further than the date of the events chronicled in this present chapter. Before that there is all but complete silence. We are concerned, however, not with the origin of the Indo-European family of languages in the remote past, but with their diffusion over Europe and Asia.

Whatever may have been the position of the Indo-European tongues in Europe, the Tell el-Amarna tablets have taught us that in or about 1400 B.C. a language of this family was spoken in Mitanni. Before this, the oldest monument of Indo-European speech known was the Vedic literature of India, the writing down of which has been ascribed to somewhere about 1000 B.C. Still more startling have been the results of the decipherment of the tablets of Boghaz Keui. Not only have languages been found there that to all appearance are Indo-European, but also mention of such Aryan gods as Indra and Varuna.

On the other hand, both in Crete and in Anatolia, languages existed which do not come within the Indo-European category. The Etruscan language, the place of origin of which is most probably Asia Minor, and which, whatever it may be, is certainly not Indo-European, points in the same direction. These are relics of the older tongues of Europe and Asia. The Indo-Europeanising of Hattusas must be ascribed to waves of migration, yet earlier than that of the Achaeans which directly or indirectly brought about the downfall of the Hittite empire.

The Indo-European languages are divided primarily into two main groups, depending upon their treatment of the gutturals of the original parent speech. The one group keeps the guttural character of the sound; the other converts it into a sibilant. The two groups have been named the centum languages (hard 'c') and the satem languages respectively; the one from the Latin, the other from the Sanskrit, or Zend, words for the numeral 'a hundred,' which illustrate the difference by their respective initials. To the centum group belong all the existing European languages of the family, except the Slavonic, Baltic (Lithuanian) and Albanian. To the satem group belong the chief Asiatic languages of the family, the Indian and Iranian. In Asia Minor and the Near East, the language of Mitanni (like modern Armenian) was a satem language, but the languages that have been identified in the Boghaz Keui tablets belong to the centum group. It is consonant with this that the reference to Indra and Varuna found at Boghaz Keui is in a treaty with Mitanni; it would have been surprising if these Indian deities had appeared in a completely 'centum' connection.

Like northern Asia Minor, Palestine, at a comparatively early date, shows us certain sporadic cases of colonization which appear to be incidents in the gradual eastward movement of the Indo-Europeans.

The Tell el-Amarna letters give us some welcome scraps of evidence to the same effect. The ruler of Jerusalem was a man called Abd-Khiba, if this reading be correct. 'Abd-' is a Semitic prefix, denoting servitude or devotion to the god whose name forms the second member of the word—compare the Biblical Obed-Edom. But Khiba is Mitannian. Abd-Khiba is probably a mere Semitic translation of some Mitannian name which had the same meaning, from which it follows that the man who bore the name was a Mitannian stranger. This adds point to the confession, in one of his letters, that "it was not my father nor my mother that appointed me to this place, but the strong arm of the king [of Egypt] who inaugurated me in my father's house," seeming to imply that he, and his father before him, had been creatures and placemen of the Egyptian suzerain. (We must, however, allow a margin for the grovelling flattery of Amarna diplomacy in dealing with a passage such as this.)

Again, a personage comes now and then on the scene, called Shuwar-data. His

name has a very Indo-European aspect, and can easily be interpreted as one of the many appellations of the type of Theodotus or Theodore—indicating one "given" by some god. The god's name has been ingeniously compared with the Indian Surya, the sun god. A similarly constructed name is Yash-data, which belongs to a personage who also suffered for his loyalty.

These scattered examples suggest that it was by the methods of "peaceful penetration" that the Indo-European tongues gradually spread.

It is by no means unreasonable to couple the Indo-European family of languages with iron and with the alphabet among the foundation stones of the culture of the new world. The Indo-European languages are distinguished above all others by flexibility and exactitude. The Indo-European verb contrasts most favorably with the vague tenses of "completed action" and "incompleted action" which make up the Semitic verb. The Semitic languages are hampered by their formal construction, so that they find difficulty in assimilating new words to express new ideas; the Indo-European languages have an almost embarrassing facility in this respect. The Indo-European language is the language of progress; and progress was to be the keynote of the new phase of human history.

ISRAEL IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EARLY DAYS OF THE JEWISH NATION FROM BIBLICAL AND CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

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PALESTINE has formed since civilization began the only land bridge between Africa on the one hand and Asia and Europe on the other. To the west lies the Mediterranean Sea, and to the east the desert. The traveller can reach Africa from Europe by the short sea journey over the straits of Gibraltar, and from Asia by a similar crossing at the southern end of the Red Sea, but if he wishes to avoid trans-shipment of goods and persons he must make his way down the narrow strip of land which is for ever associated with the Jewish people.

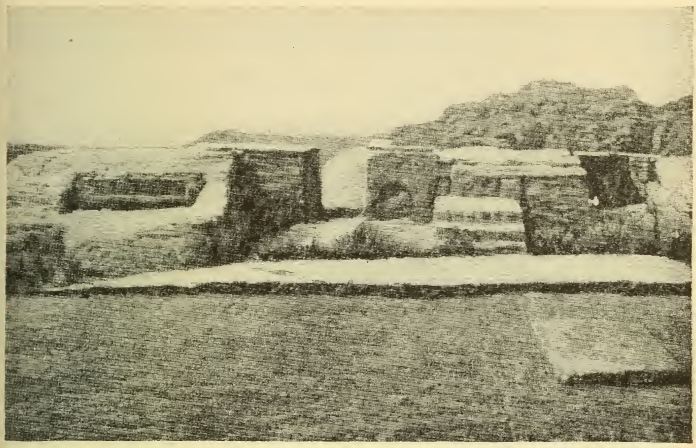
One of the oldest seats of human culture is to be found in Egypt; there were others in Mesopotamia, in Asia Minor and in Greece. It was inevitable that much of the commercial activity of the ancient world should involve a system of land transport between north, east and south, and that caravans should regularly find their way, for instance, from Babylon to the Egyptian cities. Of the several routes all went through the borders of the country that Israel at one time claimed as her own.

The land itself consists of two mountain ranges, separated by the deep trench through which the Jordan runs. One great trade route ran from north to south from Damascus to the northern end of the gulf of Akaba, along a line followed in Moslem times by a pilgrim way and in recent years by a railway. The western range slopes more gradually to the sea, and we may distinguish between the mountains proper, a lower series of foothills and a maritime plain.

Near the level of the Sea of Galilee it is broken by lower ground, called the plain of Esdraelon or the valley of Jezreel, though the latter name more properly applies to its eastern end, where it runs down to the Jordan, just below the Sea of Galilee.

In the south-west this plain is bounded by a ridge of mountain, ending in the bold promontory of Carmel, and there is, again, an easier passage between the two ranges, linking the plain of Esdraelon with the maritime plain, and known in Biblical times as Dothan. The main route from the east led up the great river valleys of Mesopotamia, following the Euphrates nearly as far as the Mountains, and then turning through Damascus, crossing the Jordan below the Sea of Galilee, and passing across the plain of Esdraelon into the maritime plain. Another route, from the north, joined this in the passage between Carmel and the central range. Goods from the east for European markets had to be carried to Syrian ports, of which the most important in Biblical times were in Phoenicia (superseding to some extent the more northern trade centers of Ugarit and Byblos), and the caravans naturally passed across the northern end of Palestine. There was also a route crossing the north of the Arabian peninsula, with its western terminal again at the extremity of the gulf of Akaba.

The general configuration of the country, with its alternation of mountain and valley, of arable and of pasture land, meant that it was naturally cut up into a number of small and independent districts. The wandering shepherd tribes of the eastern and southern wilderness were constantly making efforts to settle in the more fruitful areas; the Hebrew invasion was by no means an isolated incident, but represents a permanent tendency in the history of the country. The great



HIGH PLACES OF CANAAN REVEALED BY EXCAVATION

The 'high places' of the Canaanite cults are mentioned throughout the Old Testament, but beyond the fact that they were obviously on hill-tops and connected with religious rites, little else was known until modern research began to identify them. The earliest to be recognized was the high platform above Petra in Edom. This view shows the stepped, rock-cut altar set in a recess of the wall bounding the platform. The black opening on the left is a trough presumably for ablutions.

From Nielsen, 'Die Altarabische Mondreligion'

political powers of the world have always sought to control Palestine, and national freedom has been normally impossible; it was only during the four and a half centuries of the Hebrew monarchy that the country ever had anything like a native rule over a united people.

There were two basic conditions on which a free and independent Palestinian state was at all possible. The first was the absence of any interference from one or other of the great world-powers, and the other was the presence of some force which could unite the peoples of the land into a single self-conscious entity. The former of these conditions was fulfilled during the period which followed the breaking up of the old "Aegean" civilization in the last two centuries of the second millennium B.C. Mesopotamia, under the hegemony of Babylon, was governed by the Kassite dynasty who made little attempt to achieve empire in the west. The Hittite empire, centering in Anatolia, was brought to an end by racial movements; and the last relics of the old order, represented by the Philistines, moved down the Syrian coast in the hope of finding new homes for themselves, if possible, in Egypt.

Rameses III, the best-known king of the Twentieth Dynasty, repelled the invaders from the frontiers of Egypt itself, but could not prevent their settlement on the coast lands of Palestine, especially in the south, shortly after 1200 B.C. Thence they spread gradually inland and occupied the better parts of the country.

The Philistines were able to take possession of the plain of Esdraelon, including the city of Bethshan, which guarded the ford by which the great road crossed the Jordan, and also secured dominion over the hill country, though we have no evidence of their having made any attempt to extend their power to the east of the Jordan. A new empire, reviving the glories of the old Cretan power, but settled in the pivotal land of Palestine, was no impossibility.

It was the rise of Israel that prevented the Philistines from maintaining and extending their empire. This remarkable people was of very mixed physical ancestry. Prehistoric races and tribes had been to a large extent overlaid by the advent of Semites belonging to that branch to which we may give the general name of Amorite. Many of the features which we today associate with the Jewish face and bodily form, however, are not Semitic, but are derived from the race which dominated Anatolia in the second millennium B.C.

But spiritually and ideally the strongest element in the nation—that, indeed, which made it a nation—was derived from Semitic invaders who belonged to the general group known as Aramaean, and entered the land somewhere between 1400 and 1250 B.C. The newcomers introduced two factors into the situation which exercised a profound influence.

In the first place, these Aramaeans belonged to the economic order of the pastoral nomad, and brought with them the theories and social principles characteristic of that stage in civilization. They had little private property, and the cattle which constituted their wealth belonged to the whole clan. Their organization was based on the fundamental equality of all free members of the group. The strongest forces in their communal life were those concerned with the purity of the tribe and the value of personality, exemplified in the unwritten laws of sexual relations and of blood-revenge. Their moral standard was far higher than that of the peoples whose territory they invaded.

Secondly, these Aramaeans possessed a bond of unity which was entirely lacking in their predecessors. They believed that their forefathers had been forced into serfdom by Egyptian kings, and that they had been delivered by a god whom they called Yahweh working through the instrumentality of Moses. After their escape they had been united into a single national and religious entity by a covenant made between themselves and Yahweh. From the days of Moses till now the Hebrew people has felt itself to be one;

PALESTINE IN ISRAEL'S EARLY DAYS

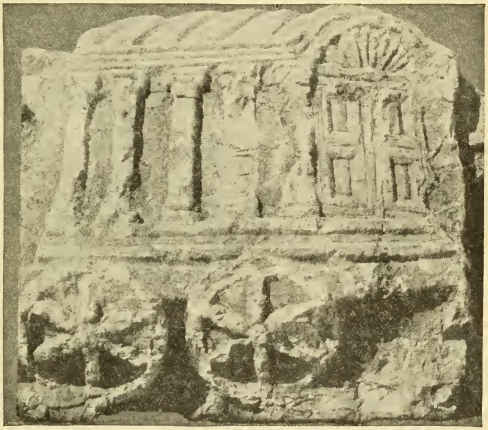
In the earliest period of which the Bible preserves traditions the Israelites were by no means alone in Palestine. Philistines held the southern coast, while two enclaves of Canaanites separated Judah in the south and Zebulon, Naphtali and Issachar in the north from the central or 'Rachel' group of tribes.

"Israel" and "Yahweh" are the two conceptions which have governed its whole history.

At first the Israelites were able to settle down only in isolated groups where the mixed peoples who preceded them were weakest. Gradually they extended their dominion, and before the arrival of the Philistines they had made their way down to the coast at more than one point. Some never crossed the Jordan, and these, together with groups who made their home in the far south, remained largely on the nomad plane, and kept alive the old, genuine, Aramaean—we may even say Mosaic—tradition. Others took to agricultural and civic life, always tending to adopt the customs and ideas which they found there before them. Indeed, the whole history of the Jews under their kings is to be understood only by the reaction of these two elements on one another. Even in the settled land the traditions of nomad freedom were never wholly lost, and were constantly reinforced by contact with the groups who maintained the ancient purity of thought and life.

—the "Baals"—satisfactory crops of corn, wine, oil, and other products of the soil. These deities were held to be necessary to agricultural success, and it is not surprising that they continued to be revered, alongside of Yahweh, practically throughout the whole period of the monarchy.

It often happened, however, that Yahweh himself was identified with a local Baal, and worshipped as his predecessor had been. Further, Canaanite



SCULPTURED MEMORY OF THE ARK

No trace of the Ark of the Covenant remains, and the descriptions are meagre; but we may presume that traditions of its appearance lingered long. Hence this sculptured block from a synagogue of Greco-Roman times at Capernaum is of great interest. It represents the Ark placed on a wheeled carriage.

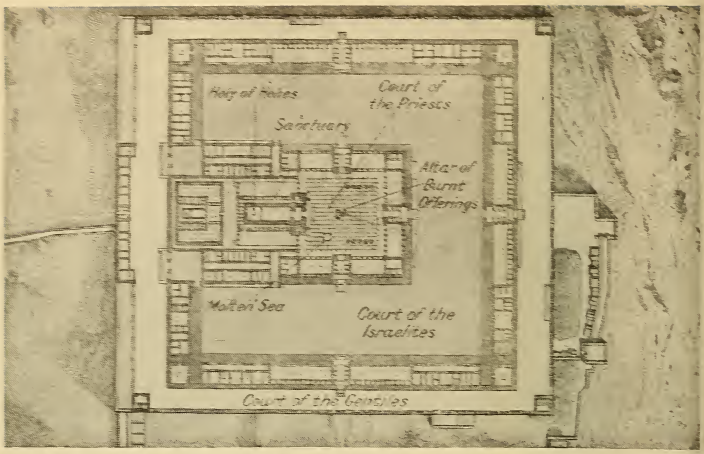
Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem

So the process of unification was slow, but it was facilitated by the constant attacks to which the land was exposed. The Israelites, with their sense of a common blood and faith, stimulated to a wild *élan* in battle through the inspiration of leaders held to be possessed by Yahweh, were able to unite and repel all new assaults. Hence it was in the name of Yahweh and of Israel that a common unity made itself felt in the country.

The religion of the Canaanites, though it included a number of deities whose worship was widely spread in the ancient world, was primarily a Nature-cult which sought to obtain from local fertility spirits

conceptions of social order and of law were adopted by Israel to a great extent, and, it seems certain that even the code in Exodus xx-xxiii was derived from Israel's predecessors in Palestine. In times of foreign invasion there might be a reaction, and not only in the east but also in western Palestine we find groups of men like the inspired ecstatics ("prophets") and "judges," who stood for Yahweh against the Baals. Even in these early days we have unmistakable traces of the interaction of the two orders of society—we may almost say, of the two Israels—upon each other.

So long as the invading enemies were



During the Babylonian captivity the national consciousness and religion hardened, and it was the object of the priestly families to which Ezekiel belonged to perpetuate the Temple ritual. In a vision he sees and minutely describes an ideal Temple, which almost certainly reproduces the main features of the actual Temple, save that details are subordinated to a passion for symmetry.

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE RESTORED FROM A PROPHET'S DREAM

Of all the famous buildings of antiquity Solomon's Temple is the hardest to reconstruct. Of the three available sources the site itself is not open to excavation, being occupied by a mosque, while the descriptions in Kings and Chronicles are confused. Ezekiel alone gives minute details that allow the ground-plan (top) to be drawn, but his is admittedly an idealized vision. The reconstruction above reproduces exactly the features of the site itself, but probably gives an impression of far too great size and magnificence.

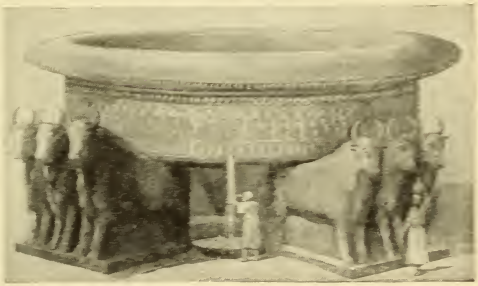
Plan by Ch. Chipiez; reconstruction by Dr. Schick, courtesy of American Colony, Jerusalem

groups of nomad tribes from the east the local ecstatic was able to meet and overthrow them, so protecting the various communities from their raids. But the advent of the Philistines produced a new situation. It seemed that the national life was crushed in the campaign which ended in the destruction of Shiloh, and for a generation the Philistines maintained their dominion unchallenged.

At length the people found a new champion in Saul, an ecstatic who was at once the last of the old "judges" and the first of the new kings. His first exploit, the rescue of the eastern city of Jabesh Gilead from an Ammonite raid, was profoundly important as giving him a base beyond the Jordan. A successful attack on a Philistine garrison at Michmash, a point overlooking the Jordan valley from the central range, lit the train of revolt, and for the rest of his life Saul was able to exercise independent sovereignty over the whole of the central range as far north as the slopes above the plain of Esdraelon. He successfully resisted the Philistine attacks as long as they were made up the valleys which led from the maritime plain into the central range. But his power was weakened, partly by his own unstable temperament, partly by his failure to maintain his religious ideals, and partly by the internal division resulting from the rise of a younger rival, David, the son of Jesse. When, after years of struggle, the Philistines made an assault on the central range from the north, they proved too strong for him, and he and nearly all his sons fell in battle on Mount Gilboa, the high ground which overlooks the plain of Jezreel from the south (c. 1000 B.C.).

For a time the Philistines were once more triumphant, for Saul's surviving son, Ishbaal, was confined to the east of Jordan, while David himself seems to have been little more than a vassal prince under the Philistine king of Gath. But in him Israel found the greatest champion she ever produced. The assassination of Ishbaal left him without a rival in the house of Saul, and he was free to attempt the union of all Israel.

His first step was the reduction of Jerusalem, which he re-fortified and made his capital, choosing thus a site which neither north nor south could claim as its own. It is clear that he was completely successful in expelling the Philistines even from the plain of Esdraelon, and in uniting the southern, the central and the northern Israelite settlements into a single whole. He was an enthusiast for Yahweh, and allowed the spirit of oriental despotism to be tempered by the genuine Israelite tradition.

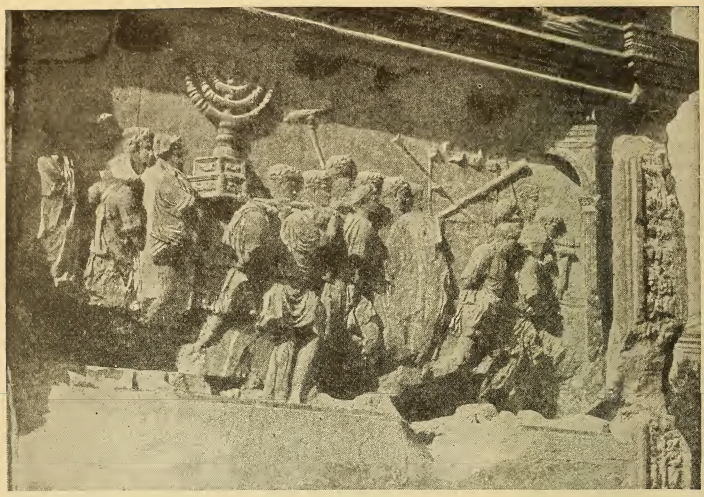


'MOLTEN SEA' MADE FOR SOLOMON

Hiram, the skilled artificer from Tyre who made the pillars, also constructed the 'molten sea'—a mighty brazen laver supported on oxen intended for ceremonial purifications. This reconstruction follows the text of the Biblical description, and conforms to the general type of simpler examples found elsewhere.

Reconstruction by Monpeart

The final defeat of the Philistines and the establishment of the capital in Jerusalem brought about the unification of Israel. The land once conquered, David set himself to secure his frontiers and to control the great trade-routes. Edom, Moab, Ammon, and the Aramaean tribes to the north-east were subdued and rendered tributary, while David entered into close alliance with the kingdom of Hamath to the north and with Phoenicia to the north-west. He was thus surrounded by a compact ring of subject or friendly states, and had in his own hands some portion, at least, of every one of the main lines of communication between



TEMPLE TREASURES IN A ROMAN TRIUMPH

No trace remains of the seven-branched candlestick in pure gold that was among the most sacred and precious treasures of the Temple, but by a strange chance we know its appearance from the sculptured relief on the Arch of Titus at Rome showing the spoils of Jerusalem being carried away in triumph by the Roman soldiers in A.D. 70. Also distinguishable in the panel are two of the sacred silver trumpets.

Photo, Anderson

the continents of Africa and Asia.

Before David's time such formal armies as Israel had were composed of the levies of the clans and localities, summoned from their fields and flocks on each occasion on which they were needed. Saul had laid the foundations of a permanent force, necessarily disbanded on his death. This David renewed, and strengthened with foreign mercenaries, mainly drawn from the Philistine cities, while he created grades of distinction among the higher ranks. The old organization was not destroyed, and we find two military leaders side by side, Joab in command of the national levies, and Benaiah at the head of the mercenary bodyguard.

Solomon (c. 965 B.C.) played the role of a despotic oriental monarch. He is renowned as the founder of the first great Yahweh temple in Jerusalem, and this was only one item in an extensive scheme of buildings in Jerusalem and elsewhere. His reign witnessed the greatest height of external magnificence ever reached in Israelite history.

However, the new king failed utterly to appreciate the true spirit of his people. His very accession was a victory of the absolutist principle over the democratic. The popular party, led by Joab and other national heroes, supported the claims of an older son of David, Adonijah, but in Benaiah and the royal bodyguard Solomon found an instrument ready for instant use, one against which his rivals were powerless.

But Solomon's lack of military enterprise allowed the most profitable of all his sources of revenue to be very seriously diminished. The outlying districts conquered by David revolted. The result was that most of the trade routes passed out of Israelite hands, for the direct route from the east to Phoenicia could be controlled only by the power dominant in the Damascus district, and the independence of Edom cut Israel off from

the ports on the gulf of Akaba and from the caravan routes which terminated there. There remained only the western road to Egypt, through the plain of Esdraelon, and the tolls derived from this source were inadequate to meet the demands of the king's expenditure. So exhausted became the royal exchequer that, when Solomon's building program was completed, he was heavily in debt to his ally, Hiram king of Tyre, and was forced to cede him a portion of his north-western territory.

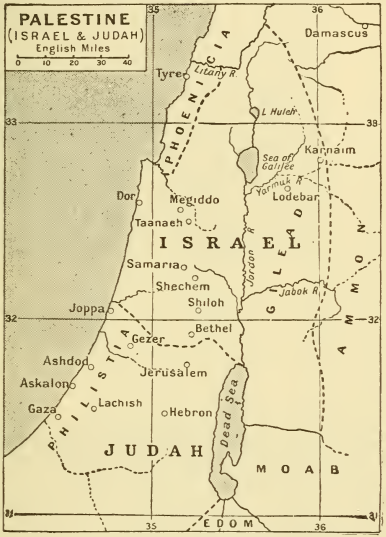
The popular discontent found leadership in that prophetic group which always stood for the old, genuinely Israelite ideals of the rights of Man, and a member of this class, Ahijah by name, instigated a certain Jeroboam to a revolt which was for the time abortive, though the chief conspirator escaped with his life to Egypt.

The great empire which might have been achieved if David's policy had been followed and the traditional spirit maintained was rendered for ever impossible by the wastefulness, cowardice and tyranny of Solomon's administration. On his death (c. 933 B.C.), the people demanded a relaxation of their burdens, particularly of forced labor. The principle of a "covenant" as the basis of monarchy was restored, and, on the refusal of the new king to grant the popular demands, the northern tribes revolted, and appointed Jeroboam their king. Rehoboam made an attempt to recover his realm by force, but the Egyptian king Sheshonk, who had protected Jeroboam in his exile, interfered and reduced Judah to the lowest straits (c. 930 B.C.). The united monarchy had come to an end.

Hostility between the two parts of the country continued through the first two northern dynasties, those of Jeroboam and Baasha, each of which fell through treason. With the accession (B.C. 886) of Omri, however a new city, Samaria, was built as the capital, and the military strength of the nation was greatly increased. In particular the chariotry introduced by Solomon received special attention from Omri and his son Ahab, and by the middle of the century Israel was stronger in this arm than any of her neighbors.

At the same time an alliance was formed with Phoenicia, cemented by the marriage of a Sidonian princess named Jezebel to Omri's son, Ahab. The little western states had, since the time of David, been wasting their strength in petty warfare among themselves, but Omri and Ahab could see farther than their subjects, and, in conjunction with Damascus, they built up a great coalition, whose aim was to resist the advance of Assyria, now, under Shalmaneser III, entering on a new period of conquest.

Although outwardly successful, the foreign policy of Omri and Ahab proved disastrous to the people. Jezebel, Ahab's queen, brought with her the normal eastern conceptions in religion, politics and



PALESTINE UNDER THE KINGS

After the kingship of Israel had split into two rival houses on the death of Solomon in 933 B.C., the boundary between the northern and southern kingdoms of Israel and Judah usually ran as shown in this map. The northern was the greater in size and generally the more important politically.

social ethics. She tried to substitute the cult of the Tyrian Baal for that of Yahweh, and sought to impose on the people an absolute yoke. Whereas the theory of monarchy everywhere else in the ancient world regarded the subject as the king's slave, Israel insisted that he was the king's "brother" or "neighbor," with rights and responsibilities of his own.

The inner history of the Hebrew kingdoms is dominated by the conflict between these two conceptions, and the policy of the house of Omri called forth the opposition of that group of Yahweh prophets who had always been the champions of the old order.

EVIDENCE OF HUMAN SACRIFICE

In the religion of the land occupied by the Israelites—a religion which they were always tending to adopt—there were many primitive features. All over the Canaanite 'high place' at Gezer archaeologists have found infants buried in jars, and near by, in a cistern, the skeleton of a girl who had been sawn asunder.

From Macalister, 'Bible Sidelights from the Mound of Gezer'

JEHU ACKNOWLEDGES THE OVERLORDSHIP OF ASSYRIA

'Tribute of Iaua of the house of Khumri'—so reads the inscription on one band of the obelisk of Shalmaneser. It is a square pillar of black stone with a column of oblong panels on each face, of which four, encircling it on the same level, show the offerings sent by Jehu (Iaua). He was, in point of fact, not descended from Omri (Khumri), but the Assyrians had come to call Israel the 'land of Omri.'

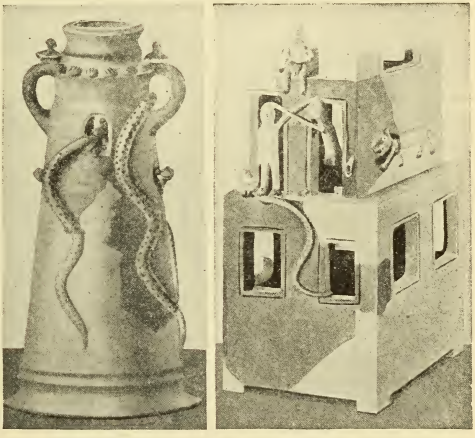
British Museum

Elijah's protest is one of the best-known stories in the Old Testament; and his successor, Elisha, instigated a revolution which extinguished the reigning dynasty (B.C. 841). The new king, Jehu, accepted the Assyrian yoke, with the result that the coalition broke up and Damascus fell an easy prey to Shalmaneser.

The successors of Shalmaneser could not maintain his conquests. For Israel, the main result of Assyrian activity was the weakening of the Aramaean powers; and the grandson of Jehu, Jeroboam II, was able to restore the ideal boundaries to the north and east. The result was that Israel seemed in B.C. 760 to stand on a higher level than she had done since the early years of Solomon.

But beneath the fair surface the nation was rotting slowly. The struggle was no longer between the crown and the people, but between the rich and the poor. There had grown up in the preceding century a class of wealthy capitalists, while the older peasant farmers had been reduced practically to serfdom. This economic change proved eventually disastrous, since it deprived Israel of that supply of free and stubborn manhood which had enabled her to resist the Assyrian advance in the ninth century. The truth became manifest with the rise of Tiglath-Pileser III, one of the greatest of Assyrian kings. The old habit of political assassination broke out again in Israel, and the dynasty of Jehu ended as it had begun.

Menahem, the new Israelite king, paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser (B.C. 738), but his son was murdered by Pekah, who tried to restore the old coalition. An attempt was made to force Ahaz, king of Judah, into the alliance, but it failed, and in B.C. 734-732 Assyria overran the country. Tiglath-Pileser organized his empire under provincial governors appointed directly from Nineveh. Damascus became one province, and the greater part of northern Israel was constituted another. Hoshea, king of the remnant, was unable to resist the intrigues of Egypt, and revolted against Shalmaneser V. He was at once deposed, but some national spirit was aroused, and the city of Samaria held out for three years, being taken only by Sargon in 721 after the death of Shalmaneser. The northern kingdom had come to an end.



USED IN THE CULT OF ASHTORETH

Found at Bethshan, certain strange pottery objects were probably connected with the worship of Ashtoreth. The jar-shaped stand has snakes coiled round it and birds perching in the openings; while the lady sitting in the window of the three-storeyed shrine, above men and animals, is probably Ashtoreth herself.

Courtesy of Alan Rowe, Pennsylvania University, Palestine Expedition

Since the days of Omri Judah had been in a state of subordinate alliance with Israel. But Ahaz and his successor Hezekiah accepted the Assyrian authority, until, with the accession of Sennacherib in B.C. 705, the whole of the west broke into revolt. Hezekiah asserted his independence by a religious reform which swept away the cults imposed by the dominant power. Sennacherib in B.C. 701 took vengeance on the western rebels. Hezekiah made an abject submission, and was allowed to keep his throne, though

with greatly reduced territories. Judah never again revolted against Assyria.

The rest of the reign of Hezekiah, and that of his son Manasseh, were a time of external peace, but social conditions were little better in Judah than they had been in the north. But Assyria was decaying, and the invasions of barbarians from the north broke up the empire. Babylon, under a Chaldean dynasty, began to threaten the very existence of her former mistress. In B.C. 621 Josiah, a grandson of Manasseh, carries out a religious reform, which proved one of the most notable events in the religious history of Israel, since it was based on a lawbook, recognized as of divine authority, and probably to be identified with the kernel of Deuteronomy.

SENNACHERIB ASSAULTS A CITY

Jerusalem must have been the objective of Sennacherib's campaign into Palestine, but he failed to take it. This bas-relief from Nineveh may show the assault as the mutilated name of the city reads '. . . . alammu'—that is, probably, (Jerus)alem.

British Museum

In concert with the Medes, the Chaldeans now began an organized assault on Assyria. Nineveh was sacked in B.C. 612, Harran captured in 610, and five years later the last great battle was fought at Carchemish. Here the overwhelming defeat of Necho, Egyptian king and ally of Assyria, ended Egypt's last bid for dominion.

The story of the fortunes of Judah is soon told. Josiah fell before Necho in B.C. 608, and his son, Jehoahaz, was deposed three months later. The new king Jehoiakim, appointed by Necho, wasted the strength of his people by extravagant building operations.

After Carchemish he transferred his allegiance to Babylon, but in B.C. 597 was drawn into revolt by Egyptian intrigues. Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, at once invaded Judah, but Jehoiakim died before Jerusalem was reduced, and his son, Jehoiachin, surrendered after a reign of three months. A third son of Josiah, Zedekiah, was placed on the throne, but he in turn was induced by Egypt to revolt, and in B.C. 586 Jerusalem fell, and the last shadow of Jewish independence vanished. Since that day, with the exception of a brief period under the Macabbaean princes, the Jews have never had an independent national home under a native ruler.

But in thus losing her political life Israel secured the ultimate triumph of her spiritual ideals. She left to the world an imperishable heritage in the political conception of a limited and constitutional monarchy, together with an insistence on the rights of personality. The old tradition in social and religious life gave her

a real unity, even when her people were scattered. Her religious development had been made possible by the devotion of a section of her people to the principles on which the national life had been founded. It was to Moses and the prophets that she owed not only the sense of indestructible unity as a race, but also those basic principles in religion to which humanity owes its doctrine of an ethical monotheism.

REPRESENTATIVES OF PALESTINIAN CITIES SACKED BY SHISHAK

After the death of Solomon and the division of his realm the Egyptians seem to have thought it a good opportunity for breaking up the dangerous Palestinian power. At any rate, in the fifth year of Solomon's son Rehoboam, that is about 930 B.C., Shashank, the Biblical Shishak, came up and spoiled Jerusalem. A great inscription at Karnak confirms all this, except that the list of cities taken (admittedly incomplete) does not mention Jerusalem. These captives are clearly Jewish.

Berlin Museum

THE GREEKS IN THE HEROIC AGE

VIGOROUS SOCIAL LIFE IN THE GREAT DAYS OF THE ACHAEAN PRINCES REFLECTED BY ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE HOMERIC POEMS

ERNEST A. GARDNER, Litt.D.

Yates Professor of Archaeology, University of London, 1896-1929; Author of 'Handbook of Greek Sculpture,' 'Art of Greece,' etc.

BEFORE any attempt can be made to describe the life of the Greeks in the heroic age it is necessary to realize the position of that age in the historical development of the Aegean peoples. The magnificent civilization of the Minoan age, as described in pages 267 to 276, was a thing of the past. The relation to the heroic age of the offshoots of the Cretan culture and art on the mainland of Greece is not so clear. While there is nothing in the Iliad or Odyssey, beyond some traditional survivals, to suggest the former splendor of Crete, the references to Mycenae, "rich in gold," and to the resplendent palace of Menelaus at Sparta certainly seem to imply some knowledge on the poet's part of the art and civilization that have been so largely rediscovered in modern times.

It is still a matter of dispute not only to what place and date the composition of the Iliad and Odyssey must be assigned, but also how far they are to be regarded as describing the life of the poet's own day.

Dr. Walter Leaf, in the Introduction to his edition of the Iliad, says:

"It is to the courts of the great princes of Achaea, whose homes and even whose remains have been found by Schliemann that we have to look for the dwelling of Homer. The Achaean fugitives took with them to the coasts of Asia Minor this most precious of their possessions." If this opinion be correct, it is a necessary inference that the Iliad and Odyssey must have been composed before the Achaeans were driven forth into Asia Minor by the Dorian invaders—that is to say, before about 1000 B.C. And the life which they describe must be, in all essential matters, that of those Achaean chieftains.

A further inference is that the Iliad and Odyssey must have already existed very much in their present form before the Dorian immigration. Many critics have, it is true, during the last century, maintained that the poems were not finally put together until a much later time, and that they are of a composite character both as to literary form and as to content. But such critics find it very difficult to explain the fact that the life described in the poems corresponds in every way with the probable conditions among the Achaeans in Greece, and differs greatly from what we learn from other sources of the state of things in Greece subsequent to 1000 B.C. For the poet was not a historian or an archaeologist, and is not likely to have made a systematic study of an earlier age.

The poet regards the heroes of whom he tells as finer and stronger than his own contemporaries; Diomed easily hurls a rock "such as two men, as men are now, could not lift"—but there are no essential differences of life or custom. Who these celebrated heroes were must next be considered.

The word "hero" varied considerably in meaning at different times. In later Greek usage it often meant a demigod or a mortal to whom divine honors were given. But there is no such implication in the Homeric use of the word; it may be applied to almost any of the chief characters, whether princes, or of divine race, or neither; it is applied not only to warriors generally, but even to heralds and minstrels. It appears, indeed, to have been restricted to those who took part in the Trojan war and in some other expeditions or adventures that are referred to in the Iliad and Odyssey.

Evidently these heroes were Greek in language and customs, and they belong to a race which must have come down from the north—or at least from the north of Greece—at some date which it is difficult to determine, in the second millennium B.C. They brought with them the beliefs, customs and dress of their northern home, and they spoke the Greek language in some earlier form capable of developing into the epic dialect of the Homeric poems. But they found in Greece a civilization and art far in advance of their own. Though Crete never recovered from the disaster which involved the destruction of the palaces at Knossos and elsewhere, the offshoots of Cretan art survived in Mycenae, Sparta, Tiryns and other sites on the mainland of Greece. And the immigrating Achaeans did not exterminate the earlier inhabitants, but adopted to a great extent their houses and their towns, and employed them as skilled craftsmen.

Hence, the conditions of life described in the Homeric poems are in some degree the product of a mixed civilization, the vigorous and warlike immigrants taking advantage of the old-established and more advanced surroundings in which they found themselves. But their life was essentially Greek in spirit and character, so much so that the Iliad and the Odyssey were studied and quoted by all later Greeks as the typical embodiment of the ideals of the Greek people, and have ever since been recognized by the whole world as representative of Greek genius.

Until recent years there was much difference of opinion as to how far the life described in the Homeric poems corresponded to an actual historic society and the events in which that society took part. But now that the treasures of Mycenae and the actual walls of the city of Troy have been discovered, few would dispute that the tale of Troy is in the main a record of real historical events.

In many ways the life of the Homeric heroes seems closer to that of the Greeks of classical times than it is either to the Cretan civilization or to that of the "dark ages" which succeeded the invasion of the Dorians. And this is hardly to be wondered at. The Achaeans carried with them to Asia Minor their customs and traditions, and thus preserved many characteristics of the heroic age, to be transmitted later to the Greeks generally.

Both the Iliad and the Odyssey, on which we are almost entirely dependent for our knowledge of the life of the heroic age, are somewhat limited in their scope, since the one describes a state of war—and then only a few days in an expedition—while the other is a story of travel in various countries, real and imaginary. But there are also vivid pictures of home life. And, moreover, a state of war was regarded in ancient times as being a much more normal condition than it is now.

The chief characters in the Iliad and the Odyssey are all princes, but they are attended by many others who seem almost their social equals; many even of the princes ruled over but small districts, and within these were many estates which doubtless gave a certain position to the proprietor. The kingdom of Odysseus (Ulysses), which supplied only twelve ships to the Trojan expedition, could furnish a hundred suitors of such rank that they might aspire to the hand of the queen. But the general tone of the poems, as well as of the society they describe, is distinctly aristocratic.

This quality is most obvious in the battle scenes of the Iliad, which consist mostly of descriptions of the individual prowess of one hero after another, all dependent entirely on their own skill with spear or sword, and not on any concerted action or marshalling of troops.

In the wanderings of Odysseus, though the hero again and again comes to the rescue of his companions in peril, his homecoming is none the less welcome to his friends because he returns alone, "with the loss of all his company." And, when he does return, he is able, with the help only of his son and two faithful servants, to cope with the hundred suitors who have established themselves in his house. The authority and preponderance of the chiefs are no less conspicuous in time of peace.

The system of government is monarchical, but without any definite constitution or any permanent division into independent kingdoms. Much would depend on the character and prowess of the individual king. If the Greeks before Troy recognized Agamemnon as their leader, they joined him as free allies rather than as subjects.

As a rule each king supervised the work on his own property in peace time; a king is represented on the shield of Achilles

as superintending the work of his farm. In peace time, also, the king kept open house, and entertained his subordinates; the "kings" of Phaeacia were feasting in the palace of Alcinous when Odysseus came to request hospitality; but Alcinous says to the feasters: "Hear me, captains and counsellors of the Phaeacians . . . in the morning we will call yet more elders together, and entertain the stranger."

Often the power of a king was thus modified by the advice of an assembly of chiefs or elders, or even of the whole people. If an important decision were to be made, an assembly was summoned, and everyone freely spoke his opinion or advice; but it was the persuasive power and the wisdom of the speaker that counted, not his authority in command. There was no constitutional sanction. The meetings were usually called by the king or by heralds on his authority.

It is by no means clear who had the right to be summoned to such assemblies. Thersites—a man of no account—is present and speaks at the assembly of the Greeks; and if Odysseus chastises him, it is not for his presumption in speaking, but rather for the tenor of his speech. Even the scout Dolon is present at the assembly of the Trojans in the plain. That such an absence of formality led to no anarchy or confusion is a striking testimony to the existence of the same political genius which was later shown by the Greeks of the classical age.

The scenes described on the shield of Achilles are a selection typical of both town and country life. Some of them showed a town in time of war—a regular siege or assault on a town, an ambush and a cattle raid—others in time of peace. There were represented first a feast and a marriage procession, with women looking on from their porches; then a scene of dispute and discussion before the elders seated in the crowded market-place. The country scenes were even more varied: men ploughing, and receiving a cup of wine at the end of each furrow; harvest, with reapers and sheaf-binders, a king standing by and rejoicing in the sight, while heralds prepared a banquet beneath a tree and women strewed white barley for supper; vintage, the plenteous grapes being gathered and carried in baskets by youths and maidens, who kept time to a viol played by a boy in their midst; cattle grazing, with the incident of the herdsmen and their dogs warding off an attack by lions; sheep-folds with flocks and farm-steadings.

Then there was a choric dance of youths and maidens in festal attire, while a minstrel made music and two tumblers whirled in the midst, and a great company stood about the dancers, well pleased. The whole gives an impression of a joyous outdoor life, its freedom and delight enhanced by sudden dangers or adventures, such as is quite in the spirit of the rest of the poem, and anticipates in many ways the conditions found later in classical Greece.

The outward aspects of the environment in which this vigorous life was lived can be inferred, to a great extent, from the Iliad and Odyssey. We have fairly full descriptions of the palaces of Alcinous in Phaeacia and of Menelaus at Sparta, and of that of Priam in Troy; more details are given as to the less luxurious house of Odysseus in Ithaca, and there is also an account of the farmstead of Eumaeus the swine-herd. All of these seem to be essentially similar in general arrangement, though differing greatly in size and elaboration. There is always a courtyard entered by an outer gate, and opening into this a living-room or hall, with a porch and sometimes an ante-room in front of it.

The open court, which is always in front of the houses described in the Homeric poems, is merely a kind of farmyard in the more primitive examples, and it retains much of this character in the house of Odysseus in Ithaca. Beasts were usually sacrificed at the altar of Zeus Herkeios (god of the enclosure), which was placed in the court. Such an altar was a regular feature in the court of the Greek house of historic times. In larger houses and palaces the court was of considerable size, and surrounded not only by stables and storehouses but also by chambers often opening into porticoes. It was enclosed by a wall, in which there was a doorway, usually opposite the front of the house itself. At Odysseus' home Telemachus, as son of the house, has a room opening into this open courtyard.

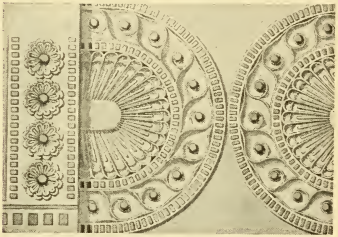
The main building of the Homeric house consists of a hall or living-room, with an ante-room and a porch in front of this; these three divisions are distinctly

recognized in the Iliad and the Odyssey, and are also to be found in the houses at Mycenae and Tiryns. The porch was a favorite place in which to sit, and stone benches were placed in or beside it. In the middle of the hall itself was the hearth, which was the center of social and domestic life. The hall was both a general living-room and a place for entertainment. It was no special feast-day when Odysseus visited Alcinous, but he found the elders of the Phaeacians feasting in the hall; and the suitors of Penelope feasted daily in the hall of the house of Odysseus. In these cases the hall is evidently conceived as being of considerable size. But it is likely that unpretentious houses were not essentially different in plan. Odysseus, when he first comes to Eumaeus the swine-herd, finds him seated in the porch of his house; probably in such a house there was a porch only and no ante-chamber. In the porch it was customary to make up beds for visitors.

A principal bedroom, for the lord himself and his consort, existed in some cases. In others the principal bedroom is described as in "the recess of the house"—that is, as some think, in the back of the hall itself. There was also sometimes a second story, providing upper chambers. In the palace of Priam in Troy there were fifty chambers built of stone for his fifty sons and their wives, and twelve more within the courtyard for his daughters and sons-in-law; but this amount of accommodation is doubtless exceptional.

Though some rooms must have been set aside for women's use or occupations, there is no need to suppose any duplication of the essential parts of the house. There is no evidence that the second court and hall at Tiryns were reserved for women. On the contrary, visitors to a house often find the mistress and her attendants seated or working in the common rooms, probably in the hall itself; the state of things in the palace of Odysseus at Ithaca was exceptional, owing to its being infested by the suitors.

The schemes of decoration and architectural features, at least of the more sumptuous houses described in the Homeric poems, are evidently an inheritance from the earlier lords of Mycenae and, through them, from Crete. The Odyssey tells how "there was a gleam as it were of sun or moon through the lofty palace of renowned Menelaus." The same description is given of the palace of Alcinous, with the further addition that "brazen were the walls which ran this way and



MYCENAEAN FRIEZES

The elliptical palmetto bisected by a vertical band was a common Mycenaean design. It occurs in the porphyry frieze from Mycenae (top) and in an alabaster frieze at Tiryns (below); in this the centers and dentils are inlaid with blue glass.

From Schliemann, 'Tiryns'

that from the threshold to the inmost chamber, and round them was a frieze of blue, and golden were the doors that closed in the good house. Silver were the doorposts that were set on the brazen threshold, and silver the lintel thereupon, and the hook of the door was of gold. And within were seats arrayed against the wall."

As regards movable furniture, in addition to fixed seats along the walls there were portable chairs, called thrones, and footstools, placed as required by attendants. Small portable tables were placed before the guests at a feast. Unlike the classical Greeks, those of the heroic age seem always to have sat, and not to have reclined, at their meals.

Beds, also, for the most part, seem to have been stored away in the daytime and placed in the position required when wanted for use. But this would not be the case with the bed of the master of

the house or of some other privileged persons; they would have private chambers. The beds consisted usually of frames of wood, frequently described as perforated, probably for the insertion of crossed leather straps which formed a kind of spring mattress. Skins of beasts and coverlets were placed both on chairs and on couches; the coverlets might well be the same as were used for clothing, since the latter required no elaborate shaping or sewing. All such articles were kept in great chests; clothes in use would be hung on pegs when taken off.

The dress of the heroic age, as described in the Homeric poems, appears to be

IN RICHLY-WOVEN GARB

This vase painting—and those shown in the opposite page—date from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., but they probably show the same kind of drapery as was worn by women in the Heroic Age long before.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold

almost identical with that of the Greeks of historic times, and to be totally different from what is to be seen in the artistic representations of Crete and of the Mycenaean epoch in Greece. The Homeric heroes must have brought their fashions of clothing with them from a more northerly region.

Their garments were of two kinds: one a sort of shirt (commonly translated "tunic") which was pulled on over the head, the other a loose wrap which was thrown around the body and often fastened with a brooch. As in classical Greek dress, both were merely rectangular pieces of stuff, probably woven to the size required, and not cut up in any way. They would evidently suit any figure of approximately the right size, for they are very commonly given as presents. And the same person might wear different sizes. The shirt or tunic is sometimes spoken of as trailing on the ground; but for active work it was doubtless much shorter, and upon occasion was girt up. For both kinds of garments both linen and wool were used, according to occasion and season of the year.

We may then picture the Homeric men and women as wearing gracefully draped garments not unlike those worn by Greeks of the fifth century B.C. It may well have been that the Homeric Achaeans, forced to migrate to Ionia and Asia Minor, had taken with them their fashions of dress, which later reacted upon the mainland.

Clothes were woven upon looms, at which ladies and their women attendants habitually worked. Some articles of clothing, such as shoes or sandals, doubtless required special apparatus, and in larger houses or palaces there appear to have been workshops of all kinds—even agricultural implements seem to have been made at home sometimes. Some branches of craftsmanship required special skill, but these are sometimes attributed to foreigners. The staining of ivory for horses' trappings, for instance, is said to have been done by a Maeonian or Carian woman. But, like other ornaments, stained ivory may well have been imported.

Men seem to have been expected to turn their hand to any sort of skilled handicraft. Thus Odysseus could not only construct a bed, but also build a ship single-handed. Doubtless certain crafts required special apparatus and surroundings; but there is little if any trace of a special artisan class. Of sculpture or painting there is no indication in Homer; for the golden torch-bearers and the golden and silver dogs in the palace of Alcinous, like the golden handmaidens of the god Hephaestus, belong to the

realm of magic rather than to that of art.

The craft of the armorer must have been important in heroic times, and was followed in some cases by special artificers. In the heroic age of Greece both the fashion of arms and their material were in a transitional stage. This results in many inconsistencies of expression. Thus, while iron is known and used for various tools, and its hardness is already proverbial, weapons are almost invariably described as being of bronze and not of iron. Yet the lure of weapons is described in the words "iron draws a man on." The two metals must have been used side by side for various purposes.

The chief weapons of offence were spear and sword. Of these the first had a head of bronze; it was used both for throwing and for stabbing. The sword, also of bronze, was used both for thrusting and for cutting. The only other usual weapon was the bow and arrow. The most important pieces of defensive armor were the helmet and the shield. The former was usually of bronze, with a high crest of horsehair; but sometimes a skin helmet was used.

WOMEN'S DRESS IN THE HEROIC AGE

Rectangular pieces of material were gracefully draped over the whole body, fastened on the shoulder by a brooch and leaving the arms bare or loosely sleeved. Sometimes the robe was plain white like those of these dancing women (right); often it was decorated with a woven design, like that worn by Briseis (left).

From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei, Bruckmann, A. G.

GEMS LIKE ODYSSEUS' BROOCH

Although belonging to the Mycenaean age, these gems with their animated designs of lion and hinds may be accepted as essentially similar to the brooches described by Homer as personal ornaments of Greeks of the heroic age.

British Museum

As regards the shield, two distinct types seem to have been used—the large one, covering the whole body from neck to feet, usually of the form either of a half cylinder or of a flattened figure of eight; and the smaller circular shield, which gave somewhat less protection, but was much more easily carried. This latter type became prevalent in later Greece, and a transitional period between the two is probably to be recognized in Homer. Greaves or leg guards, such as are frequently mentioned as being characteristic of the Achaeans, were probably intended, when a large shield was used, to protect the wearer's ankles from bruises. But they became a regular portion of defensive armor in the days of the round shield. Some difference of opinion exists as to whether the cuirass

was a part of defensive armor in Homeric times; in many cases there is distinct reference to a cuirass. It would seem that the wearing of body armor, like the shape of the shield, was a matter of individual taste, some warriors preferring the greater protection of the cuirass, others preferring to retain greater freedom of movement.

In the matter of food, and especially of meat, the Greeks of the heroic age showed none of the abstemiousness common to this day among Mediterranean people, and also characteristic of the Greeks of historic times. The Achaeans must have brought with them from their northern home the custom of eating quantities of meat. Nor was this customary among the chieftains only. The swine-herd Eumaeus, when he wishes to entertain a stranger, kills a five-year-old pig, and divides the animal among a small company, giving the whole of the back to his principal guest. Similarly, Ajax, after his single combat with Hector, is honored by Agamemnon at the feast which followed with a helping consisting of the whole back of a five-year-old ox. Doubtless the appetite of heroes, as well as their strength, was thought to be greater than that of common men; but the description of such meals must reflect more or less the custom of the age.

DAGGER SHOWING MYCENAEAN SHIELDS

Bronze, tin, silver and gold were all employed by the Mycenaean craftsmen in the marvelous inlaid work of their weapons and armor. This is a portion of a dagger found in a grave at Mycenae, and the shield of Achilles as described by Homer was evidently decorated by the same technique.

Hunting was a common pursuit of the heroes; deer, wild goats, wild boars and hares were doubtless eaten as well as hunted, but the flesh of domesticated animals seems to have been preferred. Vegetables, apart from cereals, are not mentioned as food, though they were grown in the gardens of Alcinous and of Laertes. But fruit was the chief product of those gardens; grapes were probably eaten as well as made into wine. Onions, too, were grown, and were eaten as an adjunct to wine. But the only accompaniment to meat that is usually mentioned consists of cereals, mostly barley or wheat. This, also, is in contrast to the custom of historic times in Greece, when bread was regarded as the staple article of food, meats and vegetables being used merely as flavoring for it.

The universal drink of the Greeks of the heroic age was wine, which was almost invariably mixed with water. A provision of wine was taken on all expeditions. But drunkenness is almost unknown. Even Nausicaa, when she goes out with her maidens for a washing-day picnic, takes a leather bottle of wine with her. Water, unless mixed with wine, is never mentioned as a drink for men; but, for a long voyage, Calypso gave Odysseus a large skin of water as well as a skin of wine. Wine was also mixed with honey and spices to make a kind of cup.

The only other drink mentioned in Homer is milk. Cows' milk was not used. The milk of sheep and goats was chiefly used for making a kind of milk cheese, which was the only common article of diet, beside cereals and meat, mentioned by Homer.

Meat was never hung or otherwise kept before eating, but an animal (or animals) was brought in alive and sacrificed in due form, usually at an altar if one were available. It was then cut into pieces, certain portions were burnt on the altar, and the rest was placed upon spits and cooked over the fire; these were then served round to the guests.

There is no mention of cooks or other servitors; the heroes themselves and their henchmen did everything, and the principal person present often served out the meat. The wheat or barley cakes which accompanied it were usually distributed, in a princely household, by a special stewardess or housekeeper. In camp, this same office was fulfilled by Patroclus for the guests of Achilles. Wine was

mixed with water in mixing bowls that stood ready for the purpose, and was handed round usually by cup-bearers under the superintendence of a herald, always moving round from left to right, or with the sun, as at the present day in passing wine.

It appears to have been part of the training of every warrior to be able to dress the wounds received in battle. More specialized knowledge of medicine, and especially of healing herbs, however, is attributed to surgeons, especially to the sons of Aesculapius, who, however, came as fighting men, and not to exercise their healing art. Warriors who are wounded often return very soon to the fray; but doubtless heroes were thought to possess unusual natural powers of recovery, which were often increased by a friendly god.

In the social life of the heroic age, the position of women offers the greatest contrast to what we find both in earlier and in later days in Greece. The noble and dignified queens of Homer are, indeed, far removed alike from the bedizened and painted ladies of the court of Minos and from the secluded matrons of Periclean Athens. And the prominent part taken by women in the story is all the more remarkable, since the Iliad deals mainly with war and the Odyssey with travel—both essentially masculine pursuits.

But women, even of princely rank, did not despise household duties. Nausicaa, with her maidens, undertook the family washing and made a picnic of the task. When she met the stranger, Odysseus, she at once took pity on him, and gave him food and clothing; she thought it more prudent, however, to avoid scandal by telling him not to accompany her back to the town, but to follow her by himself. Her father chid her for her lack of hospitality in not bringing Odysseus home with her, but Odysseus defended her by saying it was his own suggestion that he should follow separately. The whole incident gives the most delightful picture of freedom and absence of false shame, and perhaps shows better than anything else the position of women in the heroic world.

Of the love of husband and wife there is no more touching and pathetic instance in all literature than that of Hector and Andromache. The constancy of Penelope to her absent lord has become proverbial; and it is to be noted that she also is left as mistress of the house, with the advice and assistance of an old counsellor.

GREEK SOLDIERY IN SERVICE KIT

As shown on the famous Warrior Vase, the early Greek soldier's equipment included an embossed plumed helmet with projecting horns, close-fitting coat of mail worn over a fringed chiton, and gaiters below the knee. His shield was circular, save for the bottom segment, and he carried a lance.

From Furtwängler, 'Mykänischen Vasen'

Herodotus says that Homer and Hesiod "constructed a theogony for the Greeks, gave the gods their titles, assigned to them their honors and their crafts, and indicated their forms." The statement is to some extent an exaggeration; but it would be difficult to exaggerate the influence exercised by the Homeric poems upon the beliefs and conceptions of all subsequent periods. The Greeks of the heroic age, to a greater degree perhaps than any other people, created gods after their own image. These deities have like passions with men, even like weaknesses and defects; they are capable of favor or of spite towards special peoples or towards individual heroes.

They may almost be said to be in no way different from men and women except in their super-human power and knowledge. The vindictive spirit shown by Hera against Troy, or by Poseidon against Odysseus, is represented as due to a personal slight or a desire for revenge.

More often, however, such vengeance, whether inflicted upon an individual or upon a whole people, is due to some neglect of a religious rite or to a violation of some religious privilege. Conversely, a proper observance of all ritual obligations constituted a claim on the gods for protection and special treatment, and such a claim is often advanced when a prayer for help is made to any god. The relation between gods and men is, indeed, very similar to that of the Homeric kings to their subjects and dependents.

The standard of morals applied to the gods seems distinctly lower than that expected from Mankind. Thus an offence against the sanctity of marriage is in Clytaemnestra a crime, leading to a tragic end; in the case of Aphrodite, it is treated as a jest.

In this matter the moral code was not the same for men as for women. Polygamy is, indeed, unknown, except in the case of Priam, who was not a Greek king. The mothers of several of his fifty sons seem to have had the full status of wife, though Hecuba was the acknowledged queen. But when a town was captured, it was usual for the women to be distributed among the victors.

A belief in the gods gave in some respects religious sanction to social obligations. This was the case with oaths and treaties, which were always made with an accompaniment of sacrifice, entailing a curse upon those who should violate them. Thus the foundations of international law rested on a religious basis. And the duty of hospitality was also religious.

This bond of hospitality makes a common appeal to all men, of whatever race or nation, and it constitutes even an hereditary tie between host and guest, so that, for instance, Diomed and Glaucus, who were on different sides, met on the battlefield before Troy and parted with a friendly interchange of gifts, because their grandfathers had met as guest and host, a tie closer than kinship.

However, the question of nationality does not take any prominent part in the Homeric poems. The distinction between Greek and barbarian (or foreigner), so much emphasized in later Greece, hardly seems to be recognized. No difference of language is hinted at either between Greeks and Trojans, or among the various people whom Odysseus and Menelaus visit on their homeward journey. There is little if any distinction between Trojans and Greeks in other matters. Even their gods are the same.

It is expressly said of Odysseus that "many were the men whose towns he saw and whose mind he learnt." How the poet or his hearers learnt about these other men and their countries has been a matter of much speculation. Many traditions may go back to the age when the Cretans were masters of the sea. While the lines referring to the Greek mainland and the Troad show full and correct knowledge of the localities, all the regions beyond, whether to the west or the east, belong to an imaginary world, full of strange monsters and other marvels. Hence, while it is possible now to trace on a map the journeyings of the heroes within the Aegean area, any attempt to do the same for their wanderings in these outer regions leads to hopeless confusion. The Greeks of the heroic age stand out in well-known surroundings, against a vague background of mythical peoples and places.

TROY: ITS PLACE IN LITERATURE AND HISTORY

THE IMPORTANT RÔLES PLAYED BY TWO OF THE NINE CITIES SUPERIMPOSED ON THE HILL OF HISSARLIK

By A. J. B. WACE

Late Director of British School of Archaeology at Athens; Deputy Keeper, Victoria and Albert Museum; Author of 'Prehistoric Thessaly,' 'Excavations at Mycenae,' etc.

THE history of the hill of Hissarlik, on which stood Troy, was only revealed in the late nineteenth century. The Greeks themselves regarded Homer as a poetical record of events of which the historic account had been lost. Modern Homeric criticism, especially in the earlier nineteenth century, rejected Homer, regarding his works merely as poetical legends. Not only was the Trojan War discredited, but Troy itself was relegated to the list of mythical cities. All at once the whole atmosphere was changed, by the faith and vision of one man, Heinrich Schliemann.

He believed that Homer was based on fact and that Troy had existed, especially since in ancient times the site of Troy had never been forgotten. This long tradition had been rejected as imaginary by critics and theorists. Schliemann, by excavating (in 1870-90) the ruins at Hissarlik, which agreed with the site recorded by tradition, showed that Troy had existed not merely once, but nine times.

Nine successive strongholds had stood upon that hill from the earliest days of the Bronze Age down to a time well within the Christian Era. We are concerned mainly with the first six settlements at Troy, and a brief study of the growth of the human occupation of the site will provide further material for estimating the position held by the Homeric Troy.

The Dardanelles and the Bosporus together make a river that divides Europe from Asia, and first came into being far back in geological time. This river is crossed by the land route that leads from the upper Balkans into the heart of Asia Minor. It also forms a sea road by which trade from the Black Sea, the Danube and the South Russian rivers, rising far away in the heart of the European land mass, can reach the Aegean and the East Mediterranean, immemorial homes of commerce and culture.

These geographical considerations and the necessities of human intercourse make it inevitable that in every era of civilization there should be some strong city firmly established at some point on either the Bosporus or the Dardanelles. Such a fortress would not, of course, arise in the earliest days of Man's slow advance from a Neolithic to a Bronze Age culture. It was therefore in all probability the very dawn of the Bronze Age which saw the first settlement on the historic site of Troy.

If, given the conditions postulated, a state is to arise on the Dardanelles, the position of Troy at Hissarlik is admirably adapted for the purpose. Troy has ready access to the forests and mines of Ida, to the valleys of the Scamander, Granicus and Aesepus, and to the low hills that fringe the straits, and also faces two ways.

Again, being in a corner, it can be easily defended from the land side, and not being directly on the sea, is less exposed to piratical forays. A site at the same date on the Bosporus, when the east and west route between Europe and Asia was being used by tribes migrating in search either of new lands to conquer or of territory less liable to hostile raids, would have been constantly exposed to danger. So in early days the Dardanelles, and in later days the Bosporus, would be the natural seat of the power guarding the straits.

In the problem of the importance of Troy we begin with an axiom, the geographical and other natural advantages of its site at Hissarlik. A postulate follows, that its occupiers should be a progressive and quick-witted race ready to recognize

TROY'S COMMANDING POSITION ON THE HELLESPONT AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF HER ENEMIES

The political situation at the time of the Trojan war is here displayed. Troy seems to have been the center of a northern confederation embracing the coasts of Asia Minor and extending into Europe, while the Achaeans not only dominated the mainland of Greece and the Aegean islands, but also commanded the sea as well. Inset is a larger-scale map giving the immediate surroundings of Troy.

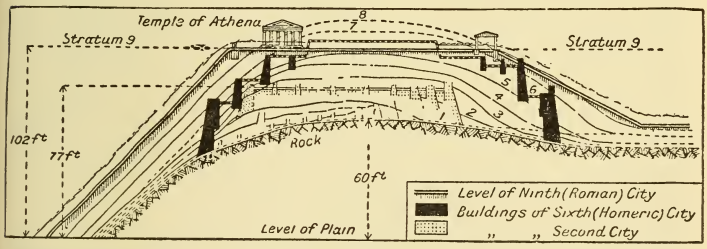
LOOKING TOWARDS HISSARLIK HILL OF IMPERISHABLE MEMORIES

Picturesqueness is not a characteristic of the Plain of Troy, marshy and malarious as it is and contained within two low ranges of barren hills. Viewed as here from the north, the Hill of Hissarlik, focus of all its interest, is an inconspicuous bluff, now scarred by pick and spade, projecting into the center of the alluvial plain at the junction of the two valleys of the Scamander and the Simois, and about three miles from the point where the former flows into the Hellespont.

From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'

and seize the advantageous position. A necessary corollary is that this race should be led by a succession of rulers, true kings of men, resourceful and active alike in peace and in war. We have, therefore, a vigorous folk, traders and warriors, governed by a dynasty endowed with strength both mental and physical, holding a natural fortress which controls two of the principal routes of the Near East.

In the early days of Mediterranean civilization it was hardly likely that any state able to challenge Trojan supremacy should arise in the lands around the Black Sea or indeed anywhere within the area naturally under Trojan influence, which we can best estimate by the list of Priam's allies in Homer. They extend from Lycia in the far south, all along the western littoral of Asia Minor, as far at least as Paphlagonia in the north. On the European side Priam's allies comprise the



SECTIONAL DIAGRAM SHOWING THE NINE SETTLEMENTS ON HISSARLIK

By a process of levelling the debris of earlier settlements and bringing up new material for their own buildings, successions of new inhabitants almost doubled the height of Hissarlik, at first only a rocky hump rising some sixty feet above the plain. This diagram shows how each stratum after the first completely enveloped all that preceded it. The Romans who formed the summit into a temple precinct sheared off the whole of the central portion of the important sixth stratum.

After Walter Leaf, 'Troy, a Study in Homeric Geography'

Thracian tribes on the north shore of the Aegean, as far as the Axius in Macedon.

Northern Thrace and the Black Sea area as a whole were then "barbarian" regions and unlikely to disturb the power of Troy. Yet these very regions were apt to erupt from time to time and pour down into the Balkan peninsula, or across the straits into Asia Minor or farther east round the Caspian, fierce tribes seeking to profit by the wealth and weakness of their southern neighbors.

The Phrygians and their kin who formed the major part of Priam's land allies on the Asiatic side were a Thracian tribe who had left their fellows in Europe and wandered across the river of the Dardenelles to a milder climate and more fertile soil in Asia Minor.

Troy, standing astride the crossing of two great routes, was supreme at the north end of the Aegean, and exercised a strong influence over the lands stretching from the Black Sea down the west coast of Asia Minor; but if an ambitious state were to arise in the south of the Aegean there would be an inevitable clash.

This is what eventually happened. In the early days of the Bronze Age Troy was gradually consolidating its position at the northern exit of the Aegean. At the same time in the south of the Aegean Crete had created an island power lying athwart the southern exit of the Aegean. No rivalry between Troy and Cnossus in the early Bronze Age was possible. First, both were slowly building up their power; and secondly, at about the time when Cretan civilization reached its first climax, Troy suffered a set back by the

BRICK-BUILT PALACE OF A PRE-HOMERIC PRINCE

Situated almost in the center of the walled enclosure, the second palace at Troy consisted mainly of a great hall 35 feet wide and about 65 feet long. Part of its eastern wall can be seen at A. At B and C is the door-pierced wall that separated it from the portico, whose side walls of sun-dried bricks on a stone plinth (D) are visible at E and F. Half of the 'megaron' was sacrificed in making the excavation G on the left. H is undisturbed deposit.

From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'

TREASURES OF GOLD AND BRONZE FROM A LONG-HIDDEN STORE

It was in metal work that the inhabitants of the Second Troy particularly excelled. Much of it, notably the so-called Treasure of Priam, was hidden in the thickness of the walls and so escaped the notice of those who destroyed the citadel, to be discovered by Schliemann, who erroneously supposed that the second stratum was the Homeric Ilium. Above are seen some of the golden cups and large bronze daggers from this store, together with some almost unrecognizable fragments of other daggers.

From Schliemann, 'Atlas Trojanischer Alterthümer'

destruction of the second "city," and it took three more "cities" before she re-won her position.

Crete, too, looked southwards towards Egypt rather than northwards, and seems to have had little influence on the mainland of Greece at this time. She seems to have been, except for her Egyptian associations, somewhat of a hermit, with little inclination or aptitude for spreading her civilization on the mainland of Greece.

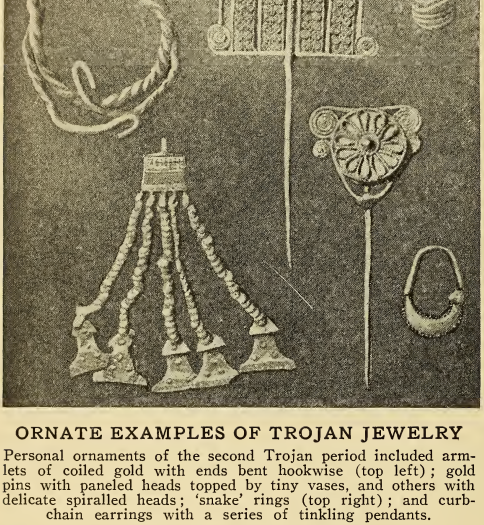
By the beginning of the sixteenth century B.C. all was changed, for a new element had come into the mainland of Greece early in the second millennium. Once in contact with Crete, it absorbed

the Minoan culture with surprising rapidity. Crete gradually decayed as the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt became atrophied under the later Amenhoteps, till about 1400 B.C. Cnossus fell.

The newly arisen power of the Greek mainland succeeded to the inheritance of Crete, which was rapidly extended by the lords of Mycenae. They and the other princes who recognized their suzerainty soon spread the Minoan civilization, which they made Mycenaean, far and wide in the eastern Mediterranean. Now for the first time they turned northwards, to Thessaly and the coasts of Macedon. And so the stage was set for the Trojan War, the first episode of the long historical duel between Europe and Asia.

The earliest settlement had been a small castle with no great pretensions. Its inhabitants used stone weapons, and polished black hand-made pottery sometimes ornamented with simple designs in white. They seem from the shapes of their pottery to have lived on the threshold of the Bronze Age, and we can place this, the first Troy, about the beginning of the third millennium B.C. They were well advanced in the social scale and kept domestic animals, and were fishermen.

This poor settlement was succeeded by a rich and important fortress, the residence of the prince, who would keep his principal officers with him within the walls, while the ordinary population would dwell without. This Second Troy had strong walls of stone at least ten feet thick and ten feet high, crowned probably by ramparts of unbaked brick. The 'palace' of the ruler consists of a court enclosing at least three adjoining buildings of a simple 'megaron' type. It was built of unbaked brick strengthened with wooden posts and cross ties all set on a foundation of stone. Though the remains of the buildings and of the walls may appear mean, yet they indicate a great advance in civilization.



ORNATE EXAMPLES OF TROJAN JEWELRY

Personal ornaments of the second Trojan period included armlets of coiled gold with ends bent hookwise (top left); gold pins with paneled heads topped by tiny vases, and others with delicate spiralled heads; 'snake' rings (top right); and curb-chain earrings with a series of tinkling pendants.

From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'

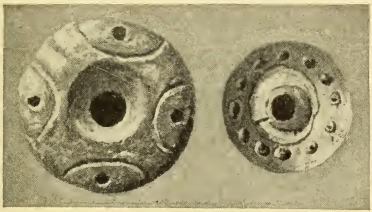
That the people of the Second Troy were well advanced both socially and materially is proved by the remains of their goods found among the ruins of their habitations. Further, this "city" has three stages of development, and so must have had a continuous life of some generations.

No fewer than seventeen hoards of gold, silver, bronze and other precious things have been found. There are cups and vases of gold and silver, diadems, earrings, pectorals and other jewelry of gold, bronze daggers and axe heads, while other treasures include jade, lapis lazuli, crystal and cornelian. The most characteristic vases of this period have squat, round bellies, owl-like faces and horn-like

arms. There is, however, a great variety of shapes, among them long-spouted, gourd-like jugs, two-handled cups, and three-legged pots.

It often happens that great proficiency in metals does not go hand in hand with good or artistic pottery and vice versa, and it was in metal work that the Trojans excelled. The gold work with its attached spirals and fine sense of decorative effect is not surpassed by similar jewelry of the same date from the Aegean area, and the spiral ornamentation suggests contact with the culture of the Cyclades.

More certain connections are provided by the hammer axes of stone and bronze. Of these some, in green stone, magnificently carved and polished, which seem to have had crystal knobs to their hafts, may have served as royal weapons or emblems. The decoration and shape indicate kinship with the Danubian district. The pottery on the other hand appears to link up with the earlier wares of western Asia Minor. So we might conclude that the inhabitants of the Second Troy were akin to the early folk of western Asia Minor, and had commerce with peoples on the European side. The pieces of jade and lapis lazuli point to trading connections with Central Asia.



ANCIENT SPINDLE WHORLS

The second stratum at Troy yielded enormous numbers of spindle whorls, made of clay and fashioned into a variety of shapes—spheres, hemispheres, cones, double cones (the most common form), rings, cylinders and disks.

From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'

This Second Troy was both prosperous and powerful, according to the standards of its age, for several generations. Its influence must have radiated from the Danube to the heart of Asia Minor, through the Aegean as far afield as Cyprus; and the skill of its inhabitants as metal workers, and as the diffusers of the knowledge of metals, must have had a profound effect on the whole course of civilization both in the Balkans and in Asia Minor. The Second Troy was a worthy predecessor of the Sixth—which was to make its name famous for ever.

The fall of this castle seems to have taken place about the beginning of the second millennium. Two more settlements occupied the hill, neither of which deserves to be called a castle and still less a city. Their remains seem to suggest a degenerate survival of the Second Troy.

With the Fifth Troy comes a revival. Once again there is a fortification wall which in some ways anticipates the magnificent wall of the Sixth Troy and embraced a larger area than the second castle. There is a distinct hint of a renaissance taking place under the inspiration of some new element, and we must interrupt the story of the successive castles to consider what new race could have established itself in this corner of Asia Minor at about this time.

If the re-establishment of the power of Troy which took place with the building of the fifth settlement was due to the arrival of some new racial element, there is good reason to connect it with the migration of the Thraco-Phrygians across the Hellespont into Asia. This movement taking place before the Trojan War would coincide with the increasing weakness of the Hittite Empire. One of the Hittite texts from Boghaz Keui mentions a state called Taroisa, which may well be Troy itself. Archaeological evidence shows that by this time Troy was already strong and wealthy once more, so that we have no reason to reject the Hittite record.

The date of the Thraco-Phrygian movement into Asia cannot be ascertained, and in view of the little we know, about both the Thracians and Phrygians, we cannot be sure that the Trojans were akin to Thracians and Phrygians, but there are some clues which point in this direction. The Bithynians who held the Asiatic side of the Bosporus in classical times are said

to have come from Thrace after the Trojan War, and south of them lay Hellespontine Phrygia. The Mysians, who appear as allies of Troy in Homer, are considered akin to the Moesians of Europe, and foremost among Priam's allies came Aeneas and the Dardanians from Ida. The close connection of the name Dardanus with Troy is obvious, and there was a Dardania in Europe in classical times between Moesia and Paeonia.

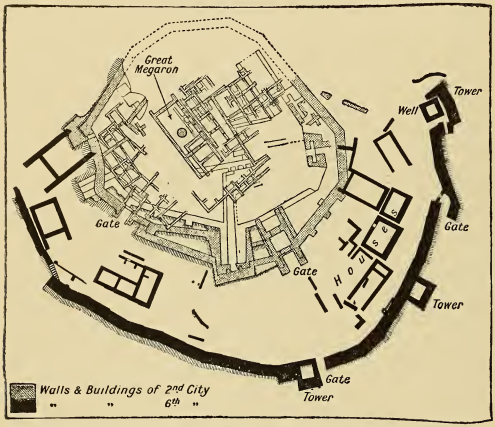
Thus it is not unreasonable to rank the Trojans as a branch of the great Thraco-Phrygian race. Since the Phrygians are said to have migrated into Asia, then the suggestion that Troy was re-established by Thraco-Phrygians can be taken as a working hypothesis, for Troy was the natural position for their national stronghold when they were focused round the Dardanelles.

In any case, whatever the nationality of its builders, the sixth citadel at Troy was till Roman times the largest and most imposing structure on the hill. The wall, which was sixteen feet thick, has a height in places of twenty feet. It was crowned by a vertical rampart, originally of unbaked brick, but later superseded by a stone parapet about six feet high and six feet thick. The wall is a well designed monument of defensive architecture, and one of the best examples of early ashlar masonry known.

Three large gates give entrance to the castle, the third protected by a strong tower on the left. This is one of the great towers which were added as flank guards to the original walls and show how carefully the layout of the whole enceinte was planned from a military point of view. Specially noticeable is the important north-eastern tower covering the access to a well.

It is exceedingly difficult to trace the history of this Sixth and greatest Troy, since its captors tore down its ramparts and plundered it so thoroughly that we have little beyond ceramic evidence by which to estimate its date and its culture. The bulk of the pottery is of local manufacture and proves that the sixth castle was not a "Mycenaean" colony, but the chief stronghold of the people of the Troad. Most valuable are the imported pieces which show intercourse with Crete or Mycenae, and even with distant Cyprus, and bear silent witness to the far-reaching influence of Troy.

We may date the Trojan War to the beginning of the twelfth century. This date is consistent with the archaeological evidence as to the overthrow of the Sixth Troy, the strong walls of which are irrefutable proof of the essential truth underlying the Homeric story. The earliest pottery found within its ruins is to be assigned to about 1500 B.C., so that we may say that the Sixth, the Homeric Troy, succeeded the Fifth during the sixteenth century B.C. The Troy of Priam



GROUND PLAN OF TWO TROJAN CITADELS

Three periods of the Second City of Troy can be distinguished in the excavation; the second and third of these are indicated in this plan by shading, the first is left white. The remains of the larger Sixth City are shown in black, while hachures indicate the batter of the enclosing walls of both cities.

After Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'

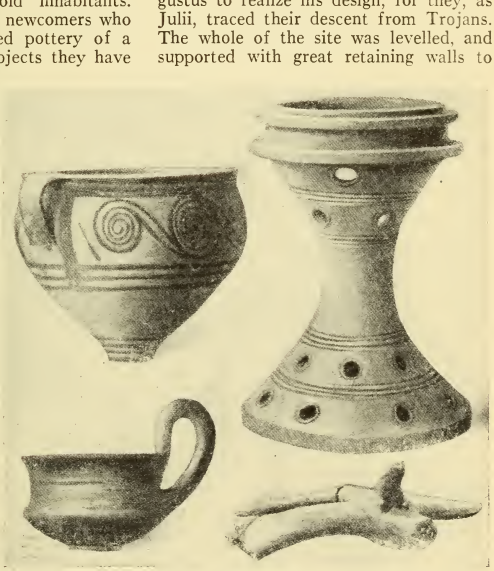
and his dynasty, descendants of Dardanus, would have stood in its pride for nearly four centuries.

After the fall of the Homeric Ilium, which marks the close of the Bronze Age, the site was reoccupied apparently at first by survivors of the old inhabitants. These were succeeded by newcomers who built differently and used pottery of a new type. The metal objects they have left behind are akin to those of the lower Danube and seem to indicate a fresh migration from Europe. This would agree with Strabo's report that the Phrygians entered Asia after the Trojan War, and we may perhaps recognize in these the second stratum of inhabitants of the Seventh Troy, the people of the Bithynian immigration.

The next settlement brings us to historical times, the Troy where dwelt Greek colonists, Aeolians, who came hither about the eighth century during the Greek colonization of the coasts of Asia Minor. The Greek or Eighth Troy was of no great importance in itself but it possessed one sacred site which was a universal object of pilgrimage, the Temple of Athena. The site of this is said to have occupied the same position as the temple which housed the Palladium.

Here Xerxes came before he invaded Greece at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., and Alexander offered sacrifices at the temple nearly a century and a half later. Probably its own insignificance and its name saved the town from being involved in the constant wars which destroyed so many. When Rome first succeeded to the dominion of the East she heaped benefits on the home of Aeneas; but yet another disaster came. Mithradates occupied Troy, which was stormed and sacked by the infamous Fimbria (85 B.C.). One more Troy arose from the ruins, the Ninth and last.

Julius Caesar planned to restore the famous site, although it was left to Augustus to realize his design, for they, as Julii, traced their descent from Trojans. The whole of the site was levelled, and supported with great retaining walls to provide a suitable area for the temple and sanctuary of Athena and other buildings, notably two theaters with which the Romans adorned the city, for Troy now became a city. It began to spread over the hill to the north-east, while the old citadel was reserved for Athena. Constantine at first intended to make it his imperial capital, but decided instead to rebuild Byzantium. Troy survived well into the Christian era, for a bishopric of Ilium lasted for some centuries. Then the town seems gradually to have sunk



TROJAN WARE FROM THE SIXTH CITY

Pottery found in the sixth stratum included imported as well as native Trojan ware of the period. Specimens of the latter include hour-glass shaped stands (right), craters with two band-handles (top left), and cups with one handle decorated with small protuberances. A typical handle had the head of an ox.

From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'

WATER-TOWER OF THE CITADEL OF HOMERIC TROY

Three great towers served as flanking defences to the original walls of the sixth citadel of Troy. The most important of these stood at the north-east corner of the fortress and its remains—nearly thirty feet in height, with a breadth not far short of sixty feet—are one of the most striking objects among the ruins. In the midst of it is a deep well or cistern which no doubt furnished the chief water supply of the garrison in times of siege.

From Dörpfeld, 'Troja und Ilion'

into decay and to have been deserted.

Throughout classical times, during the lifetime of the Eighth Troy, its place was taken by Byzantium. The part played by Byzantium in classical history has been overshadowed by its later fame as Constantinople. The establishment of the Roman empire lessened the importance of Byzantium. It gave shelter to Constantine's rival Licinius; and, when ultimately chosen by the former to be his residence, usurped as Constantinople the immemorial dominant position of Troy. Since then the tide of human history has ebbed and flowed round the Bosporus rather than the Dardanelles.

Archaeologically, then, it is extremely probable that the sixth fortress at Hissarlik represents the Homeric Troy. Historically too the same holds true. All favors the assumption that Troy, in the north-west, was the leading state in the peninsula at that date. The earliest history of Asia Minor is still most obscure, but there are signs that before the end of the second millennium there were strong Semitic influences in Cappadocia, which suggests that close relationship existed with the early empires of the Near East.

When the curtain lifts again, Hittite monarchs of about the middle of the sixteenth century were overlords of eastern Asia Minor and were exercising their influence in Syria and on the northern marches of Mesopotamia. The Hittite state controlled numerous vassals in the south and west of Asia Minor, especially in Syria, where it trespassed on the Egyptian sphere of influence. As the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt decayed in the nerveless hands of Akhnaton, the Hittite power ranked with Egypt and Babylon as one of the great powers of the ancient world. Its position became still stronger as the other two empires declined, and in 1296 Mutallis, the Hittite king, challenged Rameses II at the battle of Kadesh. Among the Hittite allies on that occasion were the Dardenui and Iliunna, identified, if the latter name is correctly read, with the Dardanians and the Ilians, which is consistent with the mention of Troy as Taroisa in another Hittite document of slightly later date.

At about the beginning of the twelfth century, at about the traditional date of the Trojan War, that is to say, the Hittite empire broke up. One result of this collapse seems to have been the formation of a formidable league of the maritime peoples in western Asia Minor with their kin in Thrace and eastern Macedonia under the leadership of Troy. The rise of Troy to the height of power indicated by Homer is quite in keeping with the downfall of the Hittites.

From Troy we turn to her besiegers, Agamemnon and his host of Achaeans and Danaans. In the Early Bronze Age the Peloponnese was occupied by folk akin to the islanders of Crete and the Cyclades. In the Middle Bronze Age, when Crete reached the crest of its first wave of prosperity, the mainland was affected by a new element, whose origin is still unknown. But not till the last phase of the Middle Bronze Age did Crete and the mainland come into touch, and then so quickly did the mainland people adopt the civilization of Crete that one might say that the island exercised a spiritual and cultural dominion over the mainland.

At the end of the seventeenth century B.C. Mycenae became the seat of a dynasty which was of mainland origin. This Shaft Grave Dynasty, so called because the dynasts were laid in the shaft graves found by Schliemann in 1876, lasted till the close of the sixteenth century, and was succeeded by another, called the Beehive Tomb Dynasty because its princes were buried in the famous beehive tombs such as that known as the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae. This dynasty, at the end of the fifteenth century, when the power of Crete collapsed with the destruction of Cnossus, became the dominant force in the southern Aegean. Under the leadership of some great king of this dynasty and his successors the Cretan culture, which through its adoption by the mainlanders became Mycenaean, was now spread far and wide in the eastern Mediterranean.

Archaeologically we see that the impulse which promoted the wide diffusion of the Minoan or Mycenaean culture throughout the Levant only came after the fall of Cnossus about 1400 B.C. Though the culture had originated in Crete, it was Mycenae which, succeeding Cnossus as its main focus, and having adapted it, made it a great civilizing factor throughout the Near East.

We find this succession by the main-

RUINS OF THE MIGHTY FORTIFICATIONS THAT PROTECTED PRIAM'S CITADEL

The great wall that encircled the sixth citadel of Troy was built of square limestone blocks (C), sloping upwards so that in a total height of twenty feet the base projects more than six feet in front of the upper edges, where it averaged sixteen feet in thickness. A stone parapet six feet high and six feet thick ran round the summit, leaving a passage nearly ten feet wide for the defending garrison. In this photograph of the southern portion A and B are buttresses and inner walls of a sixth period building within the circumvallation, D and E house walls of th

From Dörpfeld

land to Crete's position reflected also in the Egyptian and Hittite records. In the days of Thothmes III and Amenhotep II appear the Men of the Isles, and of Keftiu, which with great probability is associated with Crete, the Caphtor of the Bible. In the Tell el-Amarna letters of the beginning of the fourteenth century we meet the Peoples of the Sea, among whom are the Danuna, identified with the Danaans. In 1225, under Merneptah, we find the Akaiwasha, the Achaeans, among the same folk, and Rameses III in 1194 includes Danuna and Pulasati among the Peoples of the Sea who invaded the Delta. The Pulasati became the Philistines, and their close connection with the Danuna, if these indeed be the Danaans, is shown by the fact that the pottery typical of the Philistines is similar to that in use at Mycenae about the time of its destruction.

These wandering peoples of the sea, Danuna, Akaiwasha and Pulasati, had connections with Mycenae and the mainland and not with Crete and Cnossus, for they appear in history at a time when Cnossus was but a shadow of its former self, and at about the traditional date of the Trojan War when Agamemnon, not Idomeneus, was the King of Men. And the same applies to Cyprus. Furthermore, the Hittite tablets as early as 1303 mention the king of Ahhiyava as a great king and the "brother" of the Hittite monarch, and we have other references to the activity of the king of Ahhiyava on the coasts of Asia Minor in the fourteenth century.

If the Akaiwasha, the Ahhiyava and the Danuna are indeed the Achaeans and the Danaans, Egyptian and Hittite records confirm each other and also Greek traditions. The Hittite tablets bring the Achaeans on the scene as early as the fourteenth century, for if we accept the Ahhiyava of 1250 as Achaeans we must accept those of 1330 as Achaeans, for the evidence is equal in both cases.

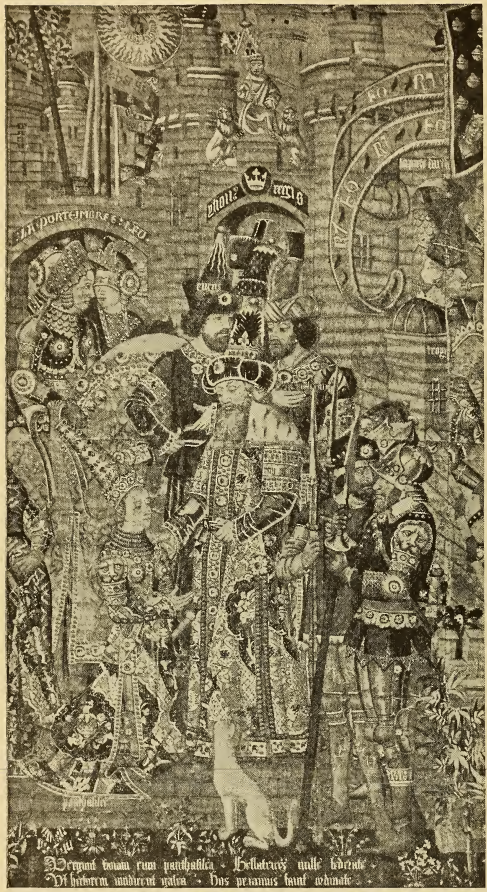
Herodotus and Pausanias both regard the Achaeans as natives of the Peloponnese, and there is no hint in Homer or in any of the other poems of the Homeric cycle that the Achaeans were as alien to Greece as the Norman barons to England. Quite apart from the negative evidence of the Greek authorities there is no hint of any Achaean invasion in archaeology. We may then with Homer regard the Achaeans, Danaans and Argives as the leading peoples of Greece at the time of Agamemnon—a conclusion in accord with Egyptian and Hittite records.

This we emerge with a clear picture of the importance of Troy, supreme in the north and east of the Aegean. Similarly

SCULPTURE FROM ATHENA'S TEMPLE

Of the Ninth Troy as reconstructed by the Romans the chief glory was the Temple of Athena, replacing the earlier Greek temple in the eighth citadel. Some fine pieces of sculpture that adorned it have been recovered, including the metope with this vigorous representation of the sun god in his chariot.

From Schliemann, 'Atlas Trojanischer Alterthümer'



IMMORTALITY OF THE TALE OF TROY

This panel of fifteenth century Flemish tapestry, representing King Priam accepting from the kneeling Penthesilea the offer of the services of her Amazons, is but one of innumerable proofs of the eternal inspiration of the tale of Troy.

Victoria and Albert Museum

on the west and south of the Aegean is another power, equally strong, which had spread its influence across to the southern shores of Asia Minor and dominated Rhodes, Cyprus and probably also the Palestine littoral. Priam and Troy depended principally on allies. On the other hand, Agamemnon is King of Men almost by divine right. His sovereignty is recognized by all, even by Achilles in his most rebellious mood.

Of the two confederacies archaeology suggests that Troy was probably the weaker as being the more backward in armament and the material means of warfare. Agamemnon, too, was more powerful at sea.

The clash between Priam and Agamemnon can hardly surprise us, for Mycenae, bent on enlarging its sphere of influence all round the Aegean and already mistress of the south, was now determined to attempt the north as well. Yet Agamemnon's power seems to have overreached itself in the effort, for disaster overtook him and most of his chief heroes. It appears that before a century had passed the House of Atreus fell and the return of the Heraclidae with the Dorian invasion completely changed the cultural and political future of Greece. But though the Achaean power collapsed not long after Troy fell, the removal of the Trojan barrier left the way open for the Greek colonization of Western Asia Minor. This in turn led inevitably to Alexander's conquests.

The Trojan War was immortalized by Homer, and his influence has been para-

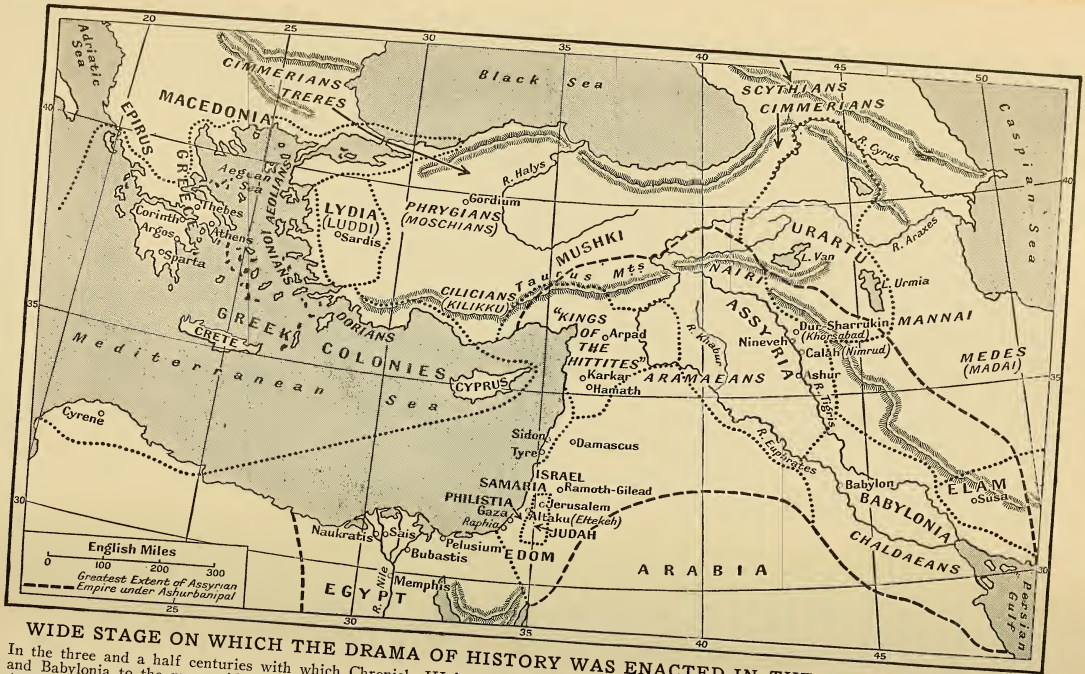
mount in preserving the memory of the greatness of Troy and Mycenae alike. And though Homer's version was not the only account of this great war, it is through him principally that Troy has won her immortality. The Greeks of ancient days took Homer as the chronicle of the deeds and lordships of their ancestors—a Homeric descent was the Greek equivalent to "Norman blood" in an Englishman.

Homer was regarded as history and studied as such. His poems were also the greatest achievement of Greek literature. In Greek art Homeric tales are the favorite subjects for representation, and some of the most moving Greek tragedies by the most human of Greek poets, Euripides, as, for example, the Hecuba and the Trojan Women, are based on the Tale of Troy. When Greece took captive her conqueror Rome, the story of Troy was no less popular in Latin literature, partly because legend said that Romulus was descended from Aeneas the Trojan.

With the decay of literature and art during the decline and fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of Christianity, the Tale of Troy and Homer still survived. When, in medieval times, the age of chivalry first blossomed the heroes of Homer became analogies for the paladins of Charlemagne. Since the Renaissance and the revival of learning the literary and artistic importance of Troy and its history has increased beyond belief. Troilus and Cressida, Paris and Oenone, Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, and all the episodes that have their origin in the epic struggle between Troy and Mycenae have time and again been the themes of English writers and artists. The craft of Odysseus and the loyalty of Penelope will be celebrated as long as the world endures. So deeply has the Tale of Troy sunk into our thoughts that allusion to some phase of it is constant. Artists of brush and pen continually draw fresh inspiration and fresh lessons from this, the first on record of European wars.

The political and material causes of the war have long since been forgotten or obscured; the characters and deeds of the men and women who took part in it have been overlaid by the long accumulation of legend and literature, but their loves, their sorrows, their joys are still vivid and natural. The moral value of such posthumous life is of much greater benefit to mankind than earthly existence.

Some scholars have declared Agamemnon a sun myth, others have transplanted Hector to Greece and called him a reflex of insignificant Greek tribal wars, others have dissected the Iliad into innumerable 'original lays.' But the steady advance of archaeological discovery and the reconstruction such as we have attempted above of the past of Troy and Mycenae and their environment in the ancient world make the Tale of Troy daily more real. There is no doubt that the civilization pictured by Homer is, with certain reservations, an epitome of the last stage of the Minoan and Mycenaean culture. Troy and Mycenae existed, and Priam and Agamemnon probably also existed. Homer remains immutable as the greatest monument of all poetry for all time. "Fuit Ilium"; but her power destroyed, her walls overthrown, her defenders slain, Troy lives for ever in the minds of men.



WIDE STAGE ON WHICH THE DRAMA OF HISTORY WAS ENACTED IN THE 'DAYLIGHT' PERIOD

In the three and a half centuries with which Chronicle III is concerned, the principal interest of Man's history was transferred from Egypt and Babylonia to the more widely extended area shown above. For the first half of the period human action was mostly concerned with Assyria's struggle for supremacy over, first, Babylonia and then over the various peoples to the west of the river system of Mesopotamia. Simultaneously, however, the colonial expansion of Greece began

Chronicle III

DAYLIGHT: 900—550 B.C.

When we reach the ninth century B.C., our chronicle-horizon has already widened and our materials become fuller and less disputable.

To the Euphratic, Nilotic and intervening areas the Aegean area has been definitely added. Eastward the great Aryan migrations have attained completion. In the course of many centuries the Iranian branch has populated the unknown lands beyond the trans-Tigris hills which we now know as Persia; but it has not yet shaped itself into organized kingdoms. Another branch has penetrated into the Punjab and thence down the Ganges basin. India, however, still remains, as concerns the outer world, a realm of magic and fable, behind a veil raised only for fleeting moments.

Ebb and Flow in East and West

Westward, other Aryan races have displaced or dominated the earlier peoples. Phrygians are penetrating Anatolia from the West, Hellenes are masters of the Aegean lands and sea, Latins and Oscans are streaming into Italy, there to clash with another host of non-Aryan invaders from over sea, the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans. A Celtic tide is following a more northerly course, eastward and westward, through Europe, perhaps already crossing the Channel into the British Isles and the Pyrenees into Spain.

Through the eleventh and the first half of the tenth centuries, the Mesopotamian and Syrian areas had been without any state that was or that threatened to be definitely predominant. Between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean no state or principality had arisen capable of holding its neighbors in more than a temporary subjection, or of welding them together in a corporate state. The Hebrews, led by such a war-lord as David, did in the tenth century set up a wide dominion; but it could not long survive the decadence in the majority of the tribes of Israel which set in with the reign of Solomon. By the end of the century the premier position among the Syrians had passed to the vigorous chiefs of Damascus. Egypt had again relapsed after the signs of a possible revival under Shashank.

Reawakening of Assyria

But there was reality in the revival that had been taking place in Assyria since the middle of the century. When Adad-nirari II became king in 911 B.C., he found a machinery which had been restored to working order by his recent predecessors, and he set himself, not as yet to expansion, but to careful consolidation. The process of actual expansion was barely begun in the six years' reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II (889-4), but aggressive Assyria definitely revealed herself under Ashur-nasir-pal II. The state organization had reached the necessary standard.

The main objective was Syria, partly because it had once owned the sovereignty of an Assyrian conqueror, Tiglath-pileser I, partly because it commanded the western trade routes; but before an attack on Syria, the possibility of an attack in the rear must be precluded.

The name of 'the Terrible' might deservedly have been bestowed upon Ashur-nasir-pal, for his methods were appalling in their ruthlessness. In his own person he set the extreme example of that merciless ferocity, only occasionally tempered by policy, which became characteristic of the Assyrian Empire, of which he may be regarded as the founder. It was his regular practice to flay alive the chiefs who headed revolts; when cities defied him and offered stubborn resistance to his arms, the inhabitants were massacred with every circumstance of savagery; the populations of conquered districts were deported, in part or in bulk. Where he had once passed with his invincible troops, it was not likely that resistance would again arise.

In the opening campaigns of his reign the Assyrian thoroughly terrorized the hill-folk on the left bank of the Tigris, northward up to the district called Nairi, the borderland of Armenia, where the river has its source. Thence he swooped

RUTHLESSNESS INCARNATE

Succeeding to the throne in 884 B.C., Ashur-nasir-pal II inaugurated a policy of conquest which, prosecuted with merciless ferocity, resulted in a greatly extended Assyrian Empire.

British Museum

upon rebellious Aramaeans between the Khabur and Euphrates, rapidly reducing them to humble submission for the moment. The harshness of the new regime generated a new revolt, countenanced by the alarmed king of Babylon who sent a strong contingent to the aid of the insurgents; they were nevertheless crushed in a decisive two days' battle by the archers and the heavy infantry of the Assyrians, who were proving their superiority over the chariots and horses on which oriental armies were wont to place their reliance.

The battle practically completed the subjugation of all Mesopotamia above the Babylonian kingdom. For the remaining fifteen years of his reign, the conqueror sought no more extension of territory. In 859 B.C. he was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser III.

Ashur-nasir-pal had refrained from challenging the great trans-Euphrates power, the loose confederacy of Syrian states of which the hegemony lay with Ben-Hadad of Damascus—too disunited to form an aggressive empire, but capa-

CONSOLIDATOR OF ASSYRIA

Son of Ashur-nasir-pal II, whom he succeeded in 859 B.C., Shalmaneser III continued his father's policy of Assyrian expansion. This stele was found at Kurkh on the Tigris.

British Museum

ble of gathering a formidable combination for defence. Damascus remained the bulwark of the south against Assyrian aggression for some generations; though when she was not in the throes of an Assyrian war she was generally fighting with Israel or with other tribal principalities.

Such a quarrel, in which King Ahab of Israel had gained substantial success, had just taken place when Shalmaneser turned his arms against Syria in the seventh year of his reign, 853 B.C. Yet Ahab and a host of minor princes joined Ben-Hadad, and there was a great fight at Karkar. The Assyrian recorded it as a great victory; but though the Syrian army dispersed, Shalmaneser had suffered so heavily that it was five years before he attempted again to conquer his stubborn foe.

Ahab, on the other hand, seized the apparent opportunity to 'go up to Ramoth-Gilead' against Ben-Hadad, actually to his own death. A few years later his house, 'the house of Omri,' was extirpated by Jehu. Ben-Hadad's energies, however, were absorbed in beating off the renewed attacks of Shalmaneser in three successive years.

KING SHAMSHI-ADAD V

Younger son of Shalmaneser III, whom he succeeded in 824 B.C., Shamshi-Adad V spent most of his reign in suppressing civil strife engendered by the revolt of his elder brother.

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The murder of Ben-Hadad by Hazael who succeeded him, and the fall of the house of Omri in Israel, gave Shalmaneser another opportunity. In 842 he inflicted a heavy defeat on Hazael, but still failed to crush Damascus, though her power and influence were seriously diminished.

Of no less importance for the consolidation of the Assyrian empire was Shalmaneser's intervention in a contest for the throne of Babylon between two brothers; which had the natural result that the brother who owed him his crown became his tributary. The Babylonians in general were well content to pay the price for the trade security they enjoyed under the Assyrian supremacy, while it paid Assyria to foster her tributary's wealth.

At intervals, from the beginning of his reign till his death in 824, Shalmaneser's troops had been in collision with a power which was consolidating itself in the northern hills—the 'Vannic' kingdom (named from Lake Van), also called Urartu (Ararat)—which first came under the casual notice of Assyria in the days of Ashur-nasir-pal. The Vannites, though Aryanized as to language at a later date, seemingly had at this period no Aryan affinities. The collisions at the time were not of serious moment, but they foreshadowed trouble.

The power of Shalmaneser in his last years was diminished by the revolt of his eldest son, Ashur-danin-pal, whose claim to the succession was set aside in favor of the younger, Shamshi-Adad V: a revolt which was not finally suppressed till the latter (824-811 B.C.) had been nominally reigning for three years. Consequently Shamshi-Adad's remaining years were mainly occupied, not with the extension of the empire, but in re-establishing within it the authority which had been shaken by the prolonged civil strife. Revolt in northern Syria had to be suppressed. In

ASSYRIA'S MAN OF DESTINY

A great soldier, Pul, as he is named in the Old Testament, seized the throne of Assyria in 745 B.C. as Tiglath-pileser III, conquered Babylonia and Syria, and before his death in 727 extended his empire to the confines of Egypt.

British Museum

Babylonia the anti-Assyrian party had recovered ascendancy with the weakness of Assyria, and it was not till 813 that the decisive battle was fought. Two years later Shamshi-Adad was dead, and Adad-nirari III, his son, reigned in his place.

This Adad-nirari was the last efficient ruler of his line. He lost no territory, he established his authority throughout his dominions and he exacted tribute from the hitherto unconquered princes of Syria even to the southernmost region of Edom. After his death in 782, Assyria again fell from its high estate, under the three successors whose rule covered the next thirty-seven years. In their wars these monarchs were habitually unsuccessful. The incompetence of the monarchy plunged Assyria herself into revolts and civil war, kindled perhaps by the superstitious excitement caused by an eclipse in 763. The great kingdom fell into a state of anarchy which ended only when, in 745, an able captain named Pul (according to the generally received view) exterminated the royal family and seized the crown himself, under the style of Tiglath-pileser III, a name recalling ancient glories.

Before proceeding with the chronicle of the second phase of the Assyrian Empire, we should remind ourselves of that once great southern power which had been so long in eclipse. We left Egypt at the close of the tenth century, when she had been showing signs, not destined to fulfilment, of a revived vigor under Shashank I (the Shishak of Scripture), a Libyan founder of what is known as the Bubastite dynasty (947 B.C.), the royal seat being at Bubastis in the western Delta. Her momentary energy had, however, waned. The Bubastites did no more than rule lethargically in a lethargic land, while princes of the house that Shashank had dispossessed reigned over an independent Nubian kingdom in the far south at Napata.

In 860, Upper and Lower Egypt were again parted by the setting up of a companion dynasty at Thebes. About a

CHALDAEAN KING OF BABYLON

King of Babylonia from 721 to 709 B.C., Merodach-baladan was Chaldaean by origin. On this stele he is confirming a grant of land to Bel-akhe-iriba (right), a Babylonian magnate.

Berlin Museum

hundred years later, at the moment when Tiglath-pileser was seizing the Assyrian crown, a partly Nubian or Ethiopian king of Napata, Kashta, whose wife was daughter of the Bubastite Pharaoh, secured for himself the throne of Thebes.

In the hills on the other side of the lower Tigris, the vigorous state of Elam played an active part in the early chronicles of Babylonia, but for many centuries her appearance had been only occasional. The Iranians, the Medes and Persians, had not yet developed an organized state, but they occupied the country to the rear of Elam, and were in possession of the mountain ranges from which in times long past the hordes of the Gutians and Kassites had descended upon Mesopotamia. The Persians are not yet specifically in evidence, but the Medes, 'Madai,' have come definitely on the stage in the northern wars of Adad-nirari III. The Vannic kingdom is not mighty enough to quit its mountain fastnesses and try conclusions with Assyria on the plains of Mesopotamia, but is already a dangerous menace on her rear whenever she turns her face to the south and west.

KING SARGON AND HIS GRAND VIZIER

Next to the monarch, the highest place in the Assyrian social organization was held by a kind of grand vizier, the Tartan or commander-in-chief of the royal armies. He is usually shown facing the king in a dignified and respectful attitude.

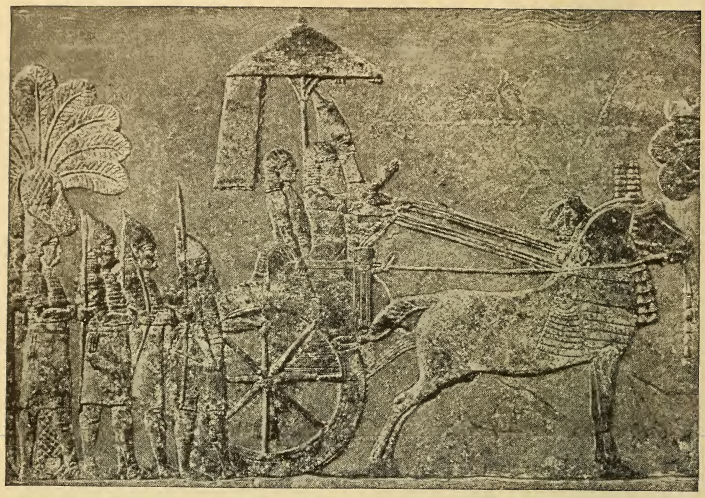
The Louvre

Advent of the Medes and Persians

Since the break-up of the old power of the Hittites no other so formidable has developed in Anatolia; but on the ruins of Hatti there has arisen a Phrygian ascendancy, the 'Mushki' of the Assyrians, an aftermath of that penetration from the west which had set in motion the forces that had been bridled by Rameses III. In the eighth century B.C. most of Anatolia behind the coast-lands was dominated by the Phrygian kingdom whose capital was at Gordium, and whose princes always seem to have borne the name of either Gordius or Midas, both familiar to Greek legend in later days. In Assyrian annals the Phrygian king appears as 'Mita of Mushki.'

Developments in the Hellenic World

By the tenth century Hellas had come into full being. What we all think of as 'Greece' in Europe, with all the isles and most of the remaining northern and eastern coast-lands of the Aegean, was occupied by Hellenic communities. The north-western coasts of Asia Minor had been settled under the name of Aeolis. The Dorian migration had run its course. Under its pressure Ionia in the middle regions of the coast of Asia Minor had been colonized, while the Dorians themselves occupied the south. Broadly speaking, every community took the form of a city state (though the state was not necessarily confined to one city), ruled by a hereditary king with a council of nobles. But gradually, state after state following a similar course with minor variations, the king dropped to the level of the nobles, and the old



SENNACHERIB AT THE HEAD OF HIS GLEAMING COHORTS

Desire to transmit the remembrance of their exploits to posterity was a distinguishing characteristic of the Assyrians, and their kings employed sculptors primarily to commemorate every act of their life, especially as conquerors. It is as commander-in-chief that Sennacherib is here represented at the head of his army. The long documentary series of bas-reliefs that cover the walls of the royal palace are the illustrations to a history of which the cuneiform inscriptions are the text.

British Museum

monarchy passed into an aristocracy of birth.

With few exceptions this change had attained completion in all the cities of Hellas before the middle of the eighth century. The most notable exception is Sparta (Lacedaemon), whose unique institution of the dual kingship survived for centuries; and kings were still reigning in the great rival Peloponnesian city of Argos. And in the wilder mountainous regions of the north and west, such as Macedonia and Epirus, the city organization had not yet developed, the king remaining rather as the high chief among a number of clan chieftains.

Elsewhere the city-state system had long been thoroughly established. Every one of the great cities which was to play a prominent part, continuously or transiently, in the developments of the next four hundred years—Sparta, Corinth, Athens, Thebes and the rest—had been a recognized sovereign state for centuries already; and as yet the most advanced of them were those on the Asiatic coast. But the westward Mediterranean expansion of Greater Hellas had not yet begun.

And now for the first time we must for a moment turn our eyes to the western horizon. For in the first half of the eighth century two cities were founded, one on the African coast and one in Italy, whose development was big with fate. About 800 B.C. the Phoenicians of Tyre planted a commercial colony at Carthage; and in 753 B.C., according to the traditional chronology, Rome was born.

Assyria's Man of Destiny

THE might of Assyria, which had been weakened, not by organic decay but by the incapacity of the last kings of the

old line, was restored, as we have seen, and more than restored after 745 B.C. by the very able usurper Tiglath-pileser, the third of that name, though often styled the fourth.

Tiglath-pileser's first campaign was directed to securing a peaceful Babylonia by the establishment of Assyrian authority as the power behind the king Nabonassar, through whom it continued to be exercised when the Assyrian withdrew. The overthrow of a North Syrian confederacy once more made Tiglath-pileser master of all northern Syria, including Damascus.

ESARHADDON THE ASSYRIAN

Set up at Shamal (the modern Senjerli) in North Syria, this stele with his portrait in relief details Esarhaddon's conquest of Egypt in 671 B.C.

Berlin Museum

Climax of Tiglath-pileser's Glory

OPERATIONS against Urartu were interrupted or delayed by another Syrian revolt in 739, for which the old king of Judah, Uzziah, may have been responsible, the advance of Israel having been brought to a sudden stop by a series of revolutions. Then came the main attack on Urartu, which was effectively crippled for some time to come though all attempts to capture the capital failed. The next three years were passed in Syrian campaigns, in the course of which Philistia was reduced to submission, Damascus was finally crushed and practically all Syria paid service and tribute to Assyria.

Meanwhile disorder had again broken out on the south in Babylonia, various claimants with or without plausible titles snatching at the crown on the death of Nabonassar in 734. Among the Chaldaean princes, Marduk-apal-iddin II, the Merodach-baladan of the Bible, makes his first but by no means last appearance. Tiglath-pileser smote all insurgents impartially and deported to distant regions more than 100,000 of the provincial populations. For a time he left Babylon kingless under Assyrian governors; but in 728 he assumed under his own name, Pul, the crown and titles of the Babylonian kingdom. A year afterwards he died.

The reign of his successor Shalmaneser V (727-722 B.C.), was brief. Israel revolted under her last king, Hoshea, and the siege of Samaria was in progress when, in his fifth year, Shalmaneser died—the victim perhaps of the conspiracy that gave Sargon II undisputed possession of the Assyrian throne in 722. But from the outset he found hostile forces active.

One army was actually engaged in crushing the obstinate king of Israel. Sargon himself was first occupied in an attempt to suppress Merodach-baladan and his Elamite allies; but he met with a repulse at the hands of the latter which caused his withdrawal from Babylonia, and the Chaldaean was triumphantly seated on the Babylonian throne.

Sargon postponed further interference, finding other problems more pressing. The Egyptian revolution of 722, when Pianchi, son of Kashta, was recognized as pharaoh, excited fresh hopes in Syria; from south to north, from Gaza to Hamath and Arpad, revolt broke out.

Leaving Babylon to its own devices, Sargon swept south. The Egyptian viceroy marched to the aid of the Philistines, and was ignominiously and overwhelmingly routed at Raphia (720). Ignoring Egypt, Sargon exacted the customary penalty from the rebels—a redistribution of the populations, including that of the northern Hebrew kingdom, on whose soil a mixed multitude of folk was planted, the 'lost tribes' vanishing out of ken. Thenceforth Israel was not; but Judah had not taken part in the revolt.

For some years to come Sargon had no time to spare from preoccupation with the northern menace which centered in Urartu. Tributary princes or chiefs east of Van attacked those who were loyal to Assyria, and several hard campaigns had to be fought before the rebels were reduced to subjection. Sargon's methods varied; for whereas one rebel chief was flayed alive, another was pardoned and reinstated as a local prince. He also developed the practice of placing Assyrian officers in charge instead of leaving the administration of the provinces in the hands of the native princes. To the competence of the new type of governor the strength of Assyria may be largely attributed.

Troublous Times in Egypt

TWELVE years after his defeat by the Elamites, Sargon again turned his attention to Babylon. This time Elam did not come to the rescue; Merodach-baladan was deposed without difficulty, but curiously enough was allowed to retain a

KING ASHURBANIPAL IN THE HUNTING FIELD

Cruel in war and tireless in the chase, Ashurbanipal was also a patron of literature and the arts, establishing in his palace at Kouyunjik a library that is now invaluable to Assyriologists and enriching the building with many superb bas-reliefs. In his reign Assyrian art aimed higher than ever before, and the pictures describing his campaign against the Elamites and his hunting exploits are triumphant representations of energy—especially in the case of the animals.

British Museum

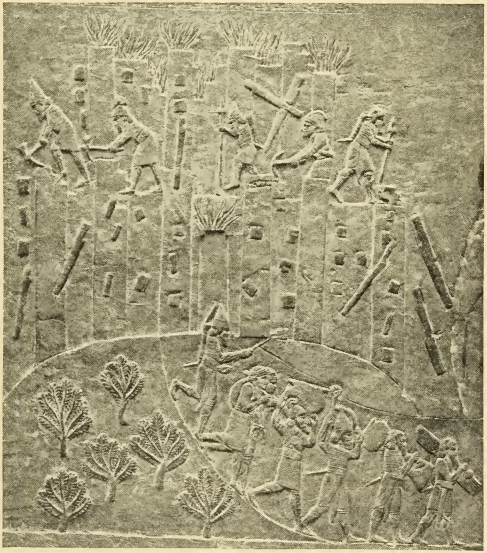
tribal principality; while Sargon resumed the crown without the full royal titles.

Another movement, however, was imminent beyond the northern frontier. In 707 Argistis of Urartu found himself facing an irruption of the Cimmerian hordes, and met with a great defeat. In 705 Sargon himself fell, probably in battle with the same horde, and was succeeded by his son Sennacherib.

The death of Sargon encouraged the irrepressible Merodach-baladan to seize once more the crown of Babylon, since Sennacherib did not immediately assert his own title. He again drew to his side the king of Elam, and at the same time incited Judah and Philistia to a revolt. But in 703 Sennacherib routed the Elamites and ejected Merodach-baladan. Then south Syria, joined by Sidon, revolted.

The campaign which followed was entirely successful. The king of Sidon fled on the approach of Sennacherib, who swept south, over-ran Philistia, shattered the forces sent by Shabaka of Egypt to help the rebels, and subjugated all Palestine except the almost impregnable city of Jerusalem; whose king Hezekiah nevertheless made full submission when Sennacherib retired to the north, for reasons not specified. This was in 700; and according to the Assyrian record he never had cause in the remaining fifteen years of his reign to revisit the south.

We are forced, however, to doubt the completeness of the official story. From two separate sources we have it reported that at some time or other a great disaster befell Sennacherib's army near the Egyptian border, attributed in both reports to direct Divine interposition. More than two centuries later the Egyptians told Herodotus that Sennacherib advanced against Pelusium, but the gods sent an army of field-mice which destroyed the bow-strings and other equipment of the Assyrians so that they were easily cut to pieces. The Hebrew historian, in his very dramatic account, says that Sennacherib was laying siege to Libnah when the Angel of the Lord passed by night over his army, and 'when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses' (2 Kings 19, 35). These variants may be reconciled on the theory of an outbreak of plague introduced in the Assyrian army by mice, which are notorious carriers.



DOOM OF THE CITY OF KHAMANU IN ELAM

Crudity of drawing notwithstanding, the flames issuing from the turrets, the stones and timbers sent crashing to the ground by the picks of the demolition party, and the men issuing from a postern laden with booty, make a vivid picture of the destruction of Khamanu by Ashurbanipal about 640 B.C.

British Museum

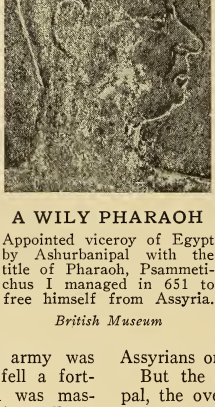
It was apparently Sennacherib's original intention to preserve Babylon as a separate but dependent kingdom, but after a spell of constant confusion in 690 Sennacherib fell on Babylon, sacked it and laid it in ruins. Esarhaddon, the son whom Sennacherib destined to succeed him, was made not king but viceroy of Babylonia.

The rest of the records of Sennacherib's reign are obscure. In 681 he was assassinated by two elder sons, who probably resented the selection of Esarhaddon as his heir; but the assassins were very promptly and thoroughly crushed by the new king. In Babylonia Esarhaddon had already inaugurated a policy of pacification, conciliation and restoration, since the grand ambition of his life was the conquest of Egypt, where Taharka ('Tirhakah the Ethiopian') was now reigning.

The conquest itself presented no very great difficulties. The Assyrian army met with a check on its first campaign in 675 owing to a storm, an event with which it is just possible to identify that divine destruction of Sennacherib's army, of which there is no Assyrian record. But next year Assyrian forces were in the Delta; and in 671 these experimental campaigns were followed up by an invasion in force. Taharka's army was scattered in rout, Memphis fell a fortnight later, and Esarhaddon was master of Lower Egypt. Assyrian officers or Egyptian nobles, supported by Assyrian garrisons, were appointed governors of the nomes or districts. Among them was Niku (Necho) of Sais. Esarhaddon then withdrew. He was hardly gone when Taharka, who had been left at large in the south, raised the standard of revolt; and Esarhaddon, returning in wrath to crush him, died while on the march (669).

Ashurbanipal, his elder son, known to the Greeks as Sardanapalus, made haste to crush the Egyptian revolt; with no undue severity. Taharka was again defeated, and Memphis, which had opened its gates to him, was reoccupied. But the Assyrian's back was no sooner turned than Taharka returned to the Delta and started intrigues with Necho and other governors, Assyrian as well as Egyptian. This conspiracy, however, was nipped in the bud.

Five years later (663) Taharka's nephew Tanutamen again broke out. This time Ashurbanipal took summary vengeance. Thebes was sacked and devastated; as a city it ceased to exist. Psamtek (Psammetichus), the son of Necho, was made viceroy of all Egypt and allowed to assume the pharaonic titles.



A WILY PHARAOH

Appointed viceroy of Egypt by Ashurbanipal with the title of Pharaoh, Psammetichus I managed in 651 to free himself from Assyria.

British Museum

For some fifteen years longer, Ashurbanipal could flatter himself that the power of Assyria was ever advancing. Assyrian armies rarely met actual defeat in the field. Revolt within the empire was invariably suppressed with alternate displays of magnanimity and brutality. Psammetichus in Egypt, without open display of disloyalty, quietly made himself completely independent, but the Assyrian merely ignored his action. Expeditions beyond the border were officially successful in attaining their objects. An incursion in the west, of the Cimmerians retreating before the advance of Lydia, was repelled by the Assyrians on the spot.

But the great triumph of Ashurbanipal, the overthrow of Elam and its disappearance as an independent state, was probably a grave factor in the approaching downfall of the military empire; since hitherto Elam had served to bridle the Iranian tribes on her rear, and Assyria had reached the point where extension of dominion meant not added strength but weakness.

In 642 Ashurbanipal held in Nineveh a great triumph to celebrate the glories of his reign, a triumph in which four captive kings were harnessed to his chariot. But already his empire was tottering in the year of his death, 626. Fourteen years later it was mercifully obliterated.

The connecting link between the ancient East and the rising West lay in Anatolia or Asia Minor, the lands between the Taurus Mountains and the western sea. In the center and east of this region, Phrygia, still known to the East as Mushki, had entered on the inheritance of the Hittites and was certainly dominant for a century before the great Cimmerian irruption which had begun about the time of Sargon's death. In that deluge Phrygia, left unaided to her fate, had gone under; the last Midas perished, if tradition be true, by his own hand, overcome by despair, while Esarhaddon was planning the conquest of Egypt. The task of holding up the nomad hordes in the west thus fell upon the rising principality of Lydia, which was left the most powerful state in Asia Minor.

We have seen that by the middle of the eighth century the city states had already long been established over all Hellas proper, and the whole Aegean area, Asiatic as well as European; and that almost throughout it the old monarchy of the heroic age, the 'god-descended kings,' was giving place to the rule of aristocracies.

The next period witnesses the expansion of Greater Hellas, the establishment of colonies in Italy and Sicily and on the shores of the Euxine sea, the Propontis (the sea of Marmora), and the as yet un-Hellenized Thracian and Macedonian coast on the north of the Aegean; as well as the fuller political development of the several Hellenic states. The cities of the island of Euboea, but more especially Chalcis, were the pioneers of colonization. At some date unknown, two of them combined with Cyme in Aeolis to plant Cumae far away on the coast of Campania—perhaps not the first appearance of Hellenes in Italy, but certainly the first organized colony. By the end of the seventh century the coasts and available harbors of the Italian boot were occupied by Dorian or Ionian colonies.

But in Sicily the Hellenes had other maritime rivals to compete with; for the Phoenicians from their great outpost at Carthage had already established trading stations in the west of the island. Moreover, long before the Hellenes, those Shirdanu and Tursha met with in the story of Egypt had sought new homes on the western Mediterranean, and had not lost their piratical instincts. We incline to find in them the origins of the Sardinians and of that Etruscan people who were becoming or had already become the dominant group in Italy, though challenged and ultimately to be mastered by the Aryan Latins and Sabellians.

FATE OF KING TE-UMMAN OF ELAM

Almost immediately after his accession to the throne of Elam, King Te-umman provoked a quarrel with Ashurbanipal. In the battle that took place Te-umman was seized and decapitated, with his eldest son. This relief shows him kneeling and wounded while the son defends him.

British Museum

LANDS ENCROACHED UPON BY THE RISING TIDE OF CIVILIZATION AFTER THE FALL OF ASSYRIA

After the extinction of the Assyrian Empire, the western half of its territory was absorbed by the Chaldaean Empire, with its capital at Babylon, the Median Empire taking possession of the eastern portion. Egypt virtually disappears from the arena and the interest of the human drama shifts steadily westward to peninsular Europe, where Greek colonial expansion attains its maximum and the Etruscans and Latins appear in Italy. Lydia was at the height of its power, exercising dominion over the coastal Greek cities, while Cilicia was independent.

On the mainland of Greece there were three cities which may be distinguished as gaining during the eighth and seventh centuries the status of territorial powers. Sparta became lord of half the Peloponnese, Attica was united with Athens, and Thebes dominated Boeotia. The Spartans were lords of a subjugated population; the minor states of Attica were voluntarily incorporated with Athens and their citizens became citizens of Athens; the Boeotian states were theoretically independent, but could not stand out of the Boeotian confederacy in which Thebes was practically dictator.

In the eighth century Sparta was only one of several powerful states in the Peloponnese — Argos, Sicyon, Corinth—to any one or to none of which it was still possible that definite leadership might fall. The development of the Spartan military system in the Messenian wars of that eighth century gave the ascendancy or 'hegemony' definitely to her in the course of the century following. Only Messenia, however, was added to her subject territory; the independence of the northern states was unaffected, and their rivalry was still a possibility. The whole organization of the Spartan state was directed to military efficiency, so that the Spartan discipline has become a proverb.

The unification of Attica was the basis of the power which Athens was on the way to attain. Unlike Sparta, she was a sea-going state, but at this period she was only one among several of equal rank, enjoying no special predominance.

Corinth was not to enter into competition for political hegemony. North of Boeotia and the Maliac gulf there were only loose leagues or confederacies. Beyond Thessaly the hill-tribes of Macedon acknowledged a king who claimed to be a Hellene, but ruled over what could hardly be called an organized kingdom.

On the east of the Aegean we have no such detailed knowledge of the development of the great cities of Aeolis, Ionia and Doris as of their western contemporaries. What we do know is that both intellectually and materially they were rather in advance of the states of Greece itself than behind them. They held their cities against Cimmerian onslaughts. Their 'wise men' and their poets were famed all over Hellas. But they were as incapable of close union as their European kinsmen.

FLOWER OF THE SPARTAN ARMY

It was to the efficiency of her infantry armed with heavy spears that Sparta largely owed her growing predominance on the mainland. This painting inside a cup shows two such 'hoplites' carrying a slain warrior on their shoulders.

Berlin Museum

A class dominant in the government of any state always tends to subordinate the interest of other classes to its own. The aristocracies of birth which were ruling in nearly all the Hellenic states in the middle of the eighth century were no exception to the rule. The subordinate classes demanded release from the economic burdens imposed on them, and political power. In state after state a struggle developed. Sometimes the aristocracies simply held their own; sometimes wealth succeeded in superseding birth; sometimes aristocratic statesmen carried through reforms out of which democracy was in time evolved.

A very common stage in the struggle was the appearance of what the Greeks called the Tyrannis, a despotism seized generally by a popular leader who had overthrown the aristocrats as a champion of democracy and maintained himself in

RELICS OF THE DAYS WHEN LYDIA DOMINATED THE ASIATIC GREEKS

Memorials of the Lydian Empire that loomed so large behind the Asiatic Greeks are few, principally through lack of archaeological excavation. Most interesting are the coins, because they seem to have been the earliest struck; the system of weights is Babylonian, but the idea of minting these weights in figured medallions may be specifically Lydian. The occurrence of lions' and bulls' heads in the Hittite manner among the devices is interesting as a survival. The material of these examples is electrum.

British Museum

power by troops of mercenaries. The Tyrannis produced many rulers whose oppression gave a very sinister meaning to the name of 'tyrant'; some who in fact were very brilliant princes. Several tyrants had established themselves in the cities of Ionia and Aeolis at the close of our period, and the Tyrannis was generally supported by the Lydian overlord.

Developments in the Far West

TURNING again to the far west, we have seen that Italy was brought into touch with the Hellenic world by the expansion into Magna Graecia. We know little enough of the earlier inhabitants of the peninsula, who were doubtless the basic stock of the Italian people. The progressive peoples were the later invaders, the Etruscans who came over the sea probably from the east, but in any case non-Aryans, and the Aryans who came in through the Alpine passes or round the head of the Adriatic. When dawn breaks in the eighth century, we find the western region, Etruria, occupied by the Etruscans or Tuscans, the eastern, the plain of Latium, by the Aryan Latins; behind and past whom are pressing southward through the mountains a second Aryan group of Oscans or Sabellians (a name which also appears as Sabines, or later as Samnites). Etruscans and Latins have both developed the city-state system, and are in hot competition, while both are holding back the pressure of the still migrant Oscans in the mountains.

The date traditionally fixed for the entrance of Rome on the scene is 753. It remained predominantly Latin, but with substantial Sabine and Etruscan elements. The story of the monarchy in Rome is mainly legendary; but in the sixth century the reigning dynasty was Etruscan, while her nobles and her commons were of all the three races. Owing to her position, her state organization was necessarily directed to military efficiency. It was not till the close of the sixth century that she shook off her monarchy and established an aristocratic republic.

Decline and Fall of Assyrian Empire

THE closing years of Ashurbanipal were troubled by disease and by family discords. The old native Assyrian fighting force had been depleted by endless

wars, and the levies from subject peoples provided much less efficient troops. Egypt was free of control under Psammetichus, and after the Scythian incursion the cities of Syria and Phoenicia no longer acknowledged the Assyrian overlordship.

The successors of Ashurbanipal had but a precarious hold even on the Assyrian crown. He was hardly dead when Babylon revolted and set up a Chaldaean king, Nabopolassar, against whom the new Assyrian monarch could take no action. A powerful Median kingdom had meanwhile been consolidated. Medes and Babylonians were alike waiting eagerly to enter upon the inheritance of Assyria.

In 612 Nabopolassar and Cyaxares the Mede united to destroy Assyria, and her last king, Sin-shar-ishkun, perished helpless in the flames of Nineveh. Save for a remnant that fled to Harran and maintained itself there for a few years, Assyria the Terrible, the eternal type of bestial force, of ruthlessness systematized, was utterly blotted out; and the world breathed more freely.

Empires of Media and Babylonia

THE empire was parted between Nabopolassar and Cyaxares; the Babylonian taking Mesopotamia and Syria, the Mede all that lay east and north of the Tigris.

In 608 the successor of Psammetichus, Pharaoh Necho, nominally as champion of an Assyrian pretender, occupied northern Syria, where the new authority was by no means securely established; and perhaps smiting Josiah king of Judah at a second battle of Megiddo. The events are obscure; but in 605 Necho was overwhelmingly defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadrezzar, Nabopolassar's heir, and was pursued to the borders of Egypt.

The Median power pushing westward under Cyaxares and the Lydian pushing eastward under Alyattes came into collision in eastern Anatolia. The war ended in 585. A great battle was actually in progress, but was interrupted by a solar eclipse (foretold by Thales of Miletus, another of the Grecian 'wise men'), which so perturbed the combatants on both sides that a truce was called on the spot, and a formal treaty established the river Halys as the boundary between the two kingdoms. Media had already absorbed Urartu. The new alliance was cemented by the marriage of Astyages, the Median heir apparent, to the daughter of Alyattes. Lydia overlapped Hellas on the west and was now in close association with Media, the rising power in the east. The clash between Hellenism and Orientalism was bound to come ere long.

Nebuchadrezzar's Napoleonic Qualities

NEBUCHADREZZAR (Nabu-kudur-usur) of Babylon, the Nebuchadnezzar of the Bible, was a great captain (an unusual phenomenon among the Chaldaeans), an able administrator, a great architect and engineer; but as a matter of course he followed the methods which had been the established practice of Assyria almost from time immemorial. When Judah revolted in 596, he suppressed the revolt and deported part of the Jewish population. When she was mad enough, in 587, to revolt a second time, in spite of the warnings of Jeremiah, he slew the king's sons before his eyes in cold blood, blinded him and carried off most of the population into a cruel captivity, while the remnant for the most part found an asylum in Egypt. But he established throughout his dominion an order which was not that of pure terrorism, and his 'hanging gardens' in the magnificent city he made of Babylon were among the 'wonders' of the world.

There was no collision with Media, nor with Egypt while Necho and Psammetichus II after him were ruling there; but the latter's successor Uahibra, the Hophra of the Bible and the Apries of the Greeks, brought trouble, stirring up the (second) revolt of Judah, and that of Tyre, by promises of assistance which was not forthcoming. That Tyre was reduced at all, though only after a siege of more than two years, is proof of Nebuchadrezzar's military skill; her situation gave her an unequalled power of defying siege operations.

The prevalent idea that the Babylonian at a later date marched into Egypt and effected a temporary conquest rests upon insufficient and doubtful evidence. Hophra was extremely unpopular, and a popular but low-born general, Aahmes, known to the Greeks as Amasis, had no

difficulty in deposing him and making himself Pharaoh in 569. Nevertheless as Pharaoh Amasis continued the policy of favoring the western aliens. It was at this time that Naukratis was established, as a privileged Greek trading station and factory for Greek wares rather than a colony in the proper sense.

Nebuchadrezzar died in 562. His Chaldaean dynasty rested on no more secure foundation than his own personality. Six years later it was deposed, and the Babylonians set on their throne the amiable archaeologist Nabonidus, who soon seems to have become unpopular with the priesthood.

The End of the Old Order

Assyria was stone dead. The virility if not the vitality was gone out of Egypt. The life went out of the new Babylon with Nebuchadrezzar. But Hellas was young, Lydia was young, Media was young. With them, to a discerning eye, lay the future. And behind the Medes were the kindred tribes of the Persians—as near akin as Scots to Englishmen, differing in little except the fact that they led harder lives in a sterner country. To them it had fallen to absorb the once turbulent but now ruined Elam, and to make its old capital, Susa, their own principal city, though they were not city-dwellers.

Cyrus, of whom tradition affirms that his mother was a daughter of Astyages the Mede, became the fourth king of Anshan (Elam) about 552. In 550 with his Persians behind him he claimed and seized the crown of Astyages, and the Medes accepted the dynastic revolution apparently without demur. That event was the death-blow of the Old Order.

THE GROWTH OF CULTURE IN BARBARIC EUROPE

AN OUTLINE OF ITS SLOW PROGRESS THROUGH THE AGES OF BRONZE TO THE FULL DAYLIGHT OF THE FIRST IRON AGE

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CIVILIZATION and recorded history began to the south of the great east-to-west mountain spine that divides the Eurasiatic land mass into two parts. The regions lying to the north of this barrier remained sunk in barbarism and illiteracy till the beginning of our era, and for the most part much later. Yet their inhabitants had absorbed some emanations from the civilization of the south, and had modified what they received to meet their own special conditions. Thus the barbarians of the north were in a position to react upon the progress of civilization in the south and even to alter its course. Here we must try to get some idea of this barbarian world as the background to early Greek and Roman history. Our main concern will be with the peoples of barbarian Europe, for these made a positive contribution to Western civilization.

Peninsular Europe was marked out by Nature as the womb of a favored type of culture. It enjoyed a temperate climate. The land surface was so diversified that peoples following varying modes of life might live side by side, so that an interaction between different types of culture was always going on. The seas that bounded it and the mountain chains that divided it put a brake on nomadism. The peninsular area was sheltered by wide tracts of mountain and forest from the inroads of the shifting hordes whose restless wanderings over the grasslands of upper Asia have never given time for the growth of a stable industry and civilization there.

At the same time Europe lay adjacent to the original foci of culture in the eastern Mediterranean. The Danube was part of a natural highway from the Aegean into the heart of central Europe. Several passes give access from the Mediterranean to the upper valleys of the Danube and the Rhine. Finally, the seas that wash the northern and western coasts offered a path to the mariners who were being trained in the eastern Mediterranean about five thousand years ago.

The realization of these potentialities was the work of Prehistoric Man. He found no unified Europe ready-made for him. He learned to create that adjustment of life required by his environment. He found out the routes for trade and migration that roads and railways follow today. But these opportunities were not always there.

Like the rest of the Eurasiatic land mass, peninsular Europe endured a glacial period, and that just at the time when more favorably situated peoples of North Africa and Hither Asia were making the first steps towards civilized life by the domestication of animals and the cultivation of plants. Eventually, however, the cold spell gave place to a warmer and moister climate. As a consequence, a dense forest of moisture-loving trees and undergrowth invaded the regions that had hitherto been tundra or pine woods.

The hunters of the reindeer and other game, who in the Old Stone Age had roamed over the bleak open plains, now became confined to the coastal tracts, the shores of lagoons and lakes or open sandy patches in the midst of the forest. Thus isolated in small bands, they continued to live on much in the old way as mere hunters and fishers.

On the other hand, large areas in central Europe are covered with loess, which

EUROPEAN PEOPLES AND CULTURES FROM ABOUT 3000 TO 500 B.C.

The first agricultural communities in central Europe were those of the Danubians, people of Mediterranean affinities who ascended the Danube valley in the neighborhood of 3000 B.C. On the west the fusion of Danubians with pre-existing food-gatherers resulted in the Alpine lake-dwelling culture, while the megalithic culture seems to have derived its stimulus from sea-borne intercourse with the Mediterranean. The dislocations caused by the Aryan irruption may be followed with the help of the arrows.

MODERN HUTS OF PREHISTORIC SHAPE

There are few more interesting examples of the survival of types which, however primitive, are adequate to their purpose than that provided by the huts of the charcoal burners in Epping Forest, near London, for in plan and construction these were identical with the huts of the Neolithic Danubian peasantry. Above, on the right, is seen the timber framework built over the pit, and (left) the turf-covered finished cabin.

From 'The Essex Naturalist'

had been deposited during the dry phases of the Ice Age. This soil makes extraordinarily good agricultural land. The loess areas accordingly formed an ideal territory that was soon colonized by early food-producing peoples.

Probably these people came from the south-east and belonged to an early branch of what is called the Mediterranean race—a short, dark stock. It seems likely that they first entered central Europe by water, coming up the Danube from the Black Sea. In northern Serbia and then in Slovakia and Lower Austria they found suitable stretches of fairly open loess land rising above the marshes and forests that then bordered the banks of the Danube. On these they made their first settlements, and we may, therefore, style the colonists Danubians.

These Danubians brought the first food-producing civilization to the interior of Europe. They subsisted primarily on the products of the soil, and possessed domestic animals—swine, cattle, sheep and goats. They lived together in little hamlets. The huts were round or oval pits, roofed with skins or turves laid over a conical or beehive-shaped framework of sticks. In Europe the same type of dwelling persisted throughout the prehistoric period. Besides agriculture and domestic animals, the Danubians introduced the arts of pottery making, basketry and weaving.

The system of agriculture—or, rather, "garden culture"—practised by the Danubians did not entail anything like permanent settlement. Each group was constantly sending out daughter colonies. And thus it came about that all the loess areas in the Danube valley and in the basins of the Vistula, the Oder, the Elbe and the Rhine were gradually colonized by the Danubians. And everywhere from Galicia to North France the peasants appear as the heralds of the stage of culture termed Neolithic.

There was nothing to urge the Danubians on to improve their industries and methods, and so they stagnated; and, though they laid the foundation of central European culture, other stocks contributed to its development. The highland plains of South Russia, where there are also deep deposits of loess, were occupied by another tribe of agriculturists who enjoyed a somewhat higher civilization; they knew how to paint their vases and to build rectangular houses with posts to support the walls of mud and interlaced boughs. This group probably originated in central Asia. They eventually came into contact with the Danubians in Hungary. Other groups of lowly agriculturists were at the same time spreading over western Europe, having come from Africa by the Strait of Gibraltar.

But soon a very different current of civilization was to affect the coasts of

Europe. In the Ancient East men were setting out in search of fresh supplies of metal and precious substances. Colonies were planted in the western Mediterranean. Thence bold voyagers sailed through the Strait of Gibraltar and coasted along the shores of the Atlantic till they reached even the British Isles.

HOW THE HORSE CAME TO EUROPE

Most important of the Aryan contributions to the culture of Europe was the horse. Bones have been found in the kurgans, or mound graves, of the South Russian steppes. The species depicted on this silver vase (left view), found at Maikop in the Caucasus and dated to about 2500 B.C., is the still surviving Mongolian wild pony—Przevalsky's horse.

From 'Materials for the Archaeology of Russia'

Thence they crossed the North Sea to Scandinavia. A few of these settled at various points, generally in the neighborhood of deposits of ore or gold, as in Brittany and Ireland, or near the amber supplies of Denmark.

The most permanent monuments of the visits of seafaring peoples from the south are the vast chambers of huge stone blocks erected as resting places for the dead, and we therefore term the mariners megalith builders. But it must be remembered that most of these tombs were built by natives who had assimilated the idea imperfectly and were trying with increasing ill-success to copy the models they had seen.

One more group remains that was destined to play a great part in the formation of European civilization. On the plains of northern and eastern Europe, and more especially on the open grasslands that extend eastward from the northern shores of the Black Sea, dwelt tribes of nomad horsemen and pastoralists. These steppe folk were probably the so-called "Aryans" from whose speech English, Latin, Greek, Persian, the Hindu dialects of India and many other languages are derived. Now, about the middle of the third millennium B.C. a dry period had set in, and bands of Aryans trekked westward and eventually invaded the central European loess areas and the coasts of the North Sea. They lived almost entirely on the products of their herds and the chase. They dwelt in caves, in movable tents and, perhaps, in wagons. Yet they were careful about the disposal of their dead and heaped a barrow over the grave.

Apart, then, from the introduction of the horse and of wheeled vehicles, the Aryan advent made but a small contribution to the development of material culture in Europe. They congregated where others' hands had already laid the foundations of civilization; they levied toll upon the coastal settlements round the amber deposits of Denmark, and reduced the Danubian peasants to a state of dependency. And they kindled a martial spirit in regions where the arts of peace had hitherto flourished. They spread to Britain, Italy, Switzerland and the Balkans. And everywhere their path is marked by splendid battleaxes of stone, copies of metal prototypes.

Some sort of interchange of products between different regions had been going on in Europe for a long time. But at first such transference of products was not the result of anything like systematic trade; it was rather through the ceremonial interchange of gifts that always ac-

companied a visit that one group became possessed of objects manufactured by another. Indeed, it seemed as if the megalith builders valued gold and amber primarily for their supposed magical properties and for funeral ritual. As for the peasants of the loess, they tended to be entirely self-sufficing; they grew their own food and manufactured clothing, pots and tools within the family circle.

On the other hand, the warrior was always on the look-out for new implements of death. And just at the time that the warrior appeared on the scene, the peoples of the Ancient East began to want substances that Europe could supply. It had been discovered that the addition of tin to copper both lowered its melting point, thus facilitating casting, and increased its hardness. The peoples of the Ancient East may at first have drawn their tin supplies from Persia or Nigeria, from Tuscany or Spain, but there were far richer lodes in Cornwall and Bohemia, and soon after 2000 B.C. these were laid under contribution.

CORNISH tin may have been discovered in the first instance by the megalith builders, but the growth of a precocious bronze-using civilization in the British Isles coincides with the arrival of the first wave of Aryan invaders about 1900 B.C. In the opening up of the Bohemian tin lodes the lords of Troy (not the Homeric city, but an older town—the "Second City") seem to have played the leading part. They may well have sent expeditions up the Danube. Some of the visitors probably settled down to work the lodes, and then, when Troy had fallen, these immigrants, being deprived of their original market, began producing metal wares for home consumption.

Moreover, another product of northern Europe came about this time to be prized in the Mediterranean world. The amber from the Baltic had found its way to the Iberian peninsula, and was thus introduced to the Mediterranean. Aryan warriors, too, had carried beads of it to Bohemia and even upper Italy, and when they settled in the latter region continued to desire the ornaments to which they had been accustomed. Thus, the conditions for regular commercial intercourse with the civilized world had been completed.

TRADE with Troy had resulted in the discovery of Bohemian tin and of the copper ores of Transylvania and Slovakia, but about 1800 B.C. Troy was sacked so that this market was temporarily destroyed. In compensation a new route to the Mediterranean, from the upper Elbe to the headwaters of the Adriatic, was opened up for the amber traffic by bands of merchants who came in the last resort from Spain. As Bohemia was already in communication with the Danish amber deposits by way of the Elbe, a regular link between the Mediterranean and Scandinavia had now been

MODEL OF AN ARYAN WAGON

With the horse the Aryan nomads from the East introduced wheeled vehicles into Europe, wagons in which, perhaps, they dwelt. This clay model of the superstructure of one such wagon was found in a grave at Ulski in the Caucasus.

Courtesy of Dr. Harold Peake

established. Along the new trade route in Thuringia, Bohemia and upper Italy centers of metallurgical industry were established. Travelling smiths went about with a stock of tools, weapons and ornaments of bronze to barter for the products of the countries they traversed, but especially for amber.

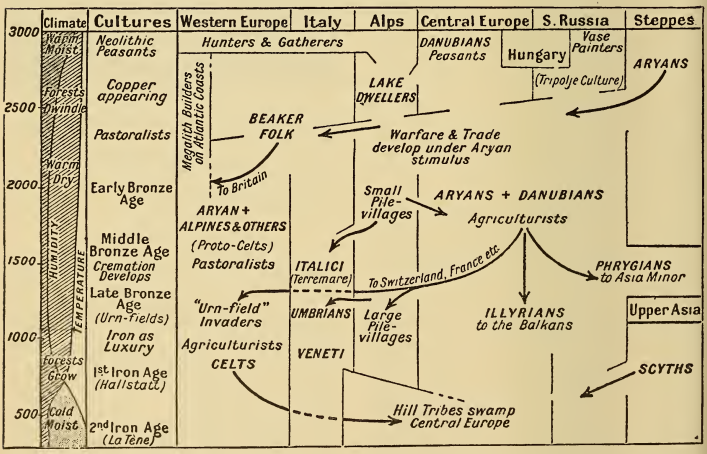
The introduction of metal had involved a complete economic revolution. The men of the Stone Age had never been obliged to rely on imports for anything, but now bronze axes and weapons, which were becoming necessities, must, therefore, always be imported.

Furthermore, metal working involved industrial specialization to a degree such as had never been contemplated hitherto. The extraction and working of metal entail the mastery of a multitude of complicated processes. The recognition of ores pre-supposes the knowledge of secondary properties, and not those that can be discerned on the surface, as with flint. The working of bronze is an art. No layman could hope to perform these operations successfully as a side-line to tillage or herding. Metal working was a profession. Smiths at first were few. On the Continent they seem originally to have combined the functions of metal worker and merchant, and travelled about along the amber trade route and between Bohemia, Slovakia and Hungary. And so the first bronze-using peoples in continental Europe were those who lived along these trade routes. They were mainly peasants representing a mixture between the Aryans and the old Danubians.

But about 1600 B.C. the area of bronze-using districts was extended. The old trade route along the Danube was opened up again, bringing the products of civilization once more to the peoples of the middle Danube valley. The inhabitants of the villages on the banks of the great waterways once again waxed rich in foreign goods. They were now able to import tin from Bohemia in exchange for Aegean products or local copies thereof, and established or revived a metallurgical industry of their own.

The Hungarian bronze workers of this period produced a variety of very shapely weapons and tasteful ornaments, which they covered with exquisite engraved designs of spirals and scroll-patterns. This new Hungarian industry was based partly on traditions of the previous epoch, partly on Mycenaean models. Its products were exported across Poland to the Baltic and up the Danube to Bavaria.

About the same time the populations of Scandinavia and North Germany began to work locally the metal which their control of the amber deposits allowed them to import. They were composed for the most part of descendants of the Aryan invaders, and represent the ancestors of the Teutons from whom the modern



SCHEME SHOWING THE EVOLUTION OF EUROPEAN CULTURES

In page 448 is a map giving the spatial distribution of the movements that can be detected in Europe during the period under discussion. This chart gives their chronological sequence, and equates them with the emergence of broad culture-phases such as the Bronze Age, etc.; in a sense it is a continuation of the similar chart contained in the plate facing page 128.

Germans, Danes, Anglo-Saxons and others sprang.

In south-west Germany and eastern France lived another group of peoples, composed of the descendants of the Aryan nomads mixed with other tribes. These people are generally supposed to be the ancestors of the Celts. They, too, enlisted the services of efficient metal workers and, owing to the opening up of branches of the amber trade route running across their territory, were enabled to secure raw metal. So the Celts, like the Teutons, established their own school of metallurgy. They remained more or less nomadic, but gave their dead more substantial resting places. Instead of interring the defunct in a trench grave, they heaped a pile of stone over his remains. The barrows frequently stood on either side of hill tracks used by herdsmen and traders.

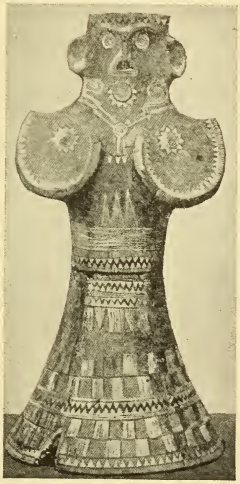


FIGURE OF THE GREAT MOTHER

Derived from the Great Mother of the Aegeans, this clay idol was found in a grave at Klicevac in Serbia. It dates from the Middle Bronze Age, and is of particular interest as showing the female costume of the period and the manner in which the metal ornaments found in contemporary deposits were worn.

From 'Mittheilungen der Anthropol, Gesellschaft,' Vienna

Despite their barbarism and the state of incessant war, the peoples of central and northern Europe began now to show their inventiveness. The Bronze Age warriors of Hungary and Germany were wont to strike with battle-axes or halberds, but when trade brought into their hands the long Aegean rapiers, they improved upon the originals and made them into slashing weapons with the weight in the blade. The same people devised a more efficient method of controlling the horse that was destined to make cavalry a practical arm in warfare. They found that the horse could be governed more effectively by a bar or twisted thong passing behind its teeth and kept in place by horn cheek-pieces to which the reins were attached. This device was in use in central Europe about 1500 B.C. and was introduced into Greece 300 years later.

The same epoch, too, witnessed a revolution in ideas about the future life. About 1300 B.C. cremation suddenly became the general practice over the greater part of central and northern Europe, in Italy and Britain, without, however, ousting the older rite of inhumation entirely. The burning of the body seems to have been associated with a new conception of the soul as dwelling after death in a remote sky mansion whither it ascended with the smoke of the pyre.

Now, the intellectual ferment reflected in these and other changes in the religious and industrial spheres was accompanied or succeeded by a general ethnic upheaval. Ethnic convulsions broke out affecting not only central Europe but the Mediterranean world and Asia Minor.

Italy was the first to suffer. Infiltrations from across the Alps had already been reaching the peninsula in the Stone Age. About 1500 B.C. these stray bands were reinforced by regular colonizing swarms, starting southward from Hungary or Lower Austria, some settling on the Save and the Drave, others crossing the Alps and debouching upon the Po valley.

Here the latter party settled, constructing villages, called terremare, raised on piles. The settlements were protected by a moat and a palisade, and were divided into four quarters by streets intersecting at right angles. Just east of the center of the village a mound of earth formed a citadel and a sanctuary. Outside the moat lay the cemetery, where the ashes of the departed, in cinerary urns, were laid on a wooden platform. The plan of these villages corresponds to that of the later Roman camp, so that it is clear that their builders, usually

designated "Italici," were among the ancestors of the earliest Romans.

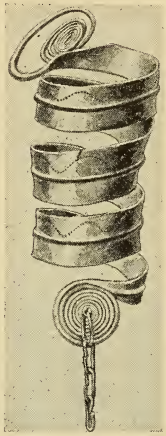
Seemingly, the process of economic exploitation that initiated the Bronze Age had provoked a reaction. Barbarian raiders eventually pursued towards their homeland the merchants who were tapping continental supplies of metal—and perhaps, too, of slaves. The sack of Troy II about 1800 B.C. may itself have been a consequence of such reflex action. In any case, some three centuries later we find in both Macedonia and Asia Minor traces of immigrants from Hungary, presumably the Phrygians, who, none the less, do not seem to represent the first layer of invaders from north of the Balkans.

The centrifugal force generated in the central plains must further have been responsible for pushing the Hellenic tribes in the Balkan peninsula southward into Greece proper; their places were taken by Illyrian stocks coming from the upper Danube basin beyond the Little Carpathians and the Austrian Alps.

Such events on the periphery are symptomatic of a general commotion in central Europe. An immigrant flood starting between the upper Elbe and the Oder in Saxony and Silesia re-colonized the Moravian plain and extended its domain to the copper lodes of Slovakia. Its path is marked by great cemeteries of cinerary urns, termed urn-fields. Stray bands of the same nation left a path of destruction across the Danube-Tisza plain and actually crossed the Balkans by the Morava-Vardar route. In Macedonia they remained as a conquering minority among the historical Macedonians.

This passage through Hungary of intruders from the north-west provoked other movements. Some of the people thrust aside seem to have drifted as far as the Caucasus. Westward, fresh bands of Italici were projected across the Alps to appear as the Umbrians. These movements were only completed two centuries later when a return of rainy conditions made the low-lying regions precarious. Then Thracians descended the Danube and ravaged western Asia Minor.

Westward, too, extended the migratory movement that had spread urn-fields over Moravia and Slovakia. A similar folk re-colonized the valleys of the upper Danube and the Rhine, pushed their way into the Alps till they controlled the copper mines of Tirol and Salzburg and the salt of the Salzkammergut, and eventually overflowed into western Switzerland and France. In the west the agricultural invaders, burying their dead in urn-fields, came in contact with the older pastoralist hill-folk whose sepulchres were under barrows, so that ethnic relations in the Alpine region are hard to disentangle.



CORPSE BONDS

To prevent the return of a spirit some Bronze Age folk joined the anklets worn by the dead man with fetters.

From Racz Egresi, Hungary

Scholars incline to call the agricultural and industrial folk who left the urn-fields "Illyrians." One thing about them is certain: they were the first people in continental Europe to use iron. The Illyrians were organized in small but compact social groups under powerful chiefs. They lived in regular villages, sometimes protected by a moat and rampart; their houses were substantial structures built of horizontal courses of logs surmounted by a gabled roof.

In Switzerland the old pile villages survived. But in the Late Bronze Age the settlements were much bigger than formerly. The Illyrian conquerors, who arrived about 1000 B.C., concentrated the population of each lake basin into one or two large pile villages. And the Swiss lakes became centers of industry and trade.

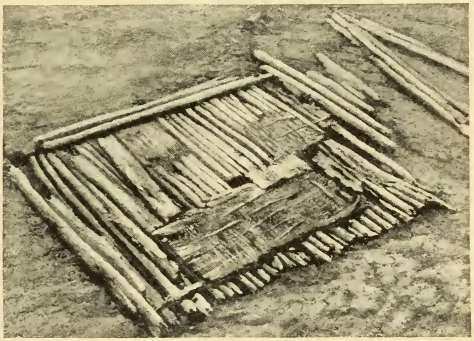
The character of industry was rapidly changing. The old perambulating smith was becoming more and more a dealer in scrap metal. It is significant that he always carried a good supply of sickles. The village smith was an important personage. His workshop was equipped with a substantial furnace, which could be ventilated with bellows through clay tubes. But the finer types of weapon,

especially the great slashing swords, favored specialization in certain villages. And so an approach to an industrial village might grow up. Specially skilled or favorably situated families or groups of craftsmen carried on a regular export business. The smiths of one community would earn a high reputation for the manufacture of articles of one particular kind.

Mining settlements, too, were now being multiplied. The Illyrians were exploiting the copper ores and the salt deposits of the Eastern Alps before 1000 B.C. The prehistoric miners were now thorough masters of their craft. It seems as if each shaft was owned and worked by a single family. In the great salt mining settlement of Hallstatt in the Salzkammergut no village has been found, but the community made use of a common cemetery. This settlement was apparently one of the most flourishing communities north of the Alps by about 900 B.C.

Europe was traversed by a veritable network of trade routes. In addition to the traffic in metals and rock salt, amber was still a staple commodity. Soon after 1000 B.C. the supplies of amber in East Prussia were laid under regular contribution, and new routes for the Danish amber were being opened up along the Rhine and across Switzerland.

Originally the amber trade had been very much in the hands of traveling merchants, who conveyed the products of the consuming country—upper Italy and Bohemia—to the source of supply. But by the end of the Bronze Age the tribes of the intervening territories kept for their own use the greater part of the Italian products, or sent them on to Hungary to be exchanged for gold, and paid the original suppliers in the north mostly with this gold and their own raw metal.

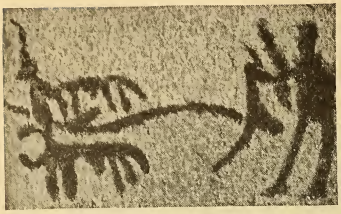


BRONZE AGE ISLAND-VILLAGE

Above we see part of the palisade, formed of some 50,000 pine trunks driven into the bed of the lake and projecting above the water, that completely surrounded a late Bronze Age settlement on an island in Upper Swabia. Upper photograph, a collapsed portion of the settlement's plaited wicker interior walls.

Courtesy of Urgeschichtliche Forschungsinstitut, Tübingen

Trade was now becoming more and more a matter of barter between neighboring groups. The amber trade had at all times been the principal channel through which new ideas and inventions reached the countries north of the Alps. And now through this trade a new industrial metal became known to the European barbarians.



PREHISTORIC SWEDISH PLOUGH

As shown in this rock carving from Bohuslan, Sweden, the earliest ploughs had no ploughshare, but consisted only of a hooked piece of wood, one branch of which was attached to the yoke, while the other turned up the soil. Note the two oxen.

From Sophus Müller, 'Urgeschichte Europas'

Iron had been known in the Ancient East from remote ages, but for iron to compete with bronze a method must be devised for smelting considerable quantities in a blast furnace. The requisite apparatus was perfected in the land of Kizzuwadna, somewhere in the Hittite kingdom, and by 1300 B.C. iron was being exported thence in bulk. The secret of its manufacture spread quickly to Assyria, Phoenicia and Greece. The barbarian tribes who were invading Asia Minor about this time rapidly assimilated the new art, and the introduction of iron-working to Europe was partly a result of the activities of these barbarians. Moreover, just at this time the Phoenicians were setting out to explore the western Mediterranean, bringing with them cargoes of "swarthy iron." Through these agencies the new metal became known in the Apennine peninsula.

Now the northern part of Italy had been overrun by Aryan tribes from beyond the Alps. About 1000 B.C. the dominant people in northern and central Italy were the Umbrians. Behind the Umbrians were the Veneti, an Illyrian people who crossed the Alps from the east and secured a frontage on the Adriatic round Venice. They were barbarians on the same cultural level as the Umbrians. But both peoples had brought with them the technique of the Danubian bronze industry, and inherited in Italy a grand tradition of metal working and commercial connections with Greece and the East. Established in the peninsula, they elaborated a truly great metallurgical industry. And gradually they secured iron. At first they used it principally for inlaying sword hilts and girdle plates, but by 800 B.C. they were making knives, swords and spears of iron.

As we have seen, upper Italy was intimately connected with the interior of the continent by traditions and by trade. Amber from the Baltic, tin from Bohemia, copper from Slovakia and Upper Austria and gold from Hungary were traded down to Italy. In return, Italy sent inland not only brazen table dishes and buckets, but ingots or finished prod-

ILLYRIANS AS SEEN BY THEMSELVES

Fragments of vases with incised decoration from a tumulus at Oedenburg in Hungary give a rough idea of costumes and customs during the first part of the Iron Age. We see four-wheeled chariots drawn by two horses (probably funerary cars), and women in long flaring skirts.

From Déchelette, 'Archéologie Celtique,' and Hoernes-Menghin, 'Urgeschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Europa'

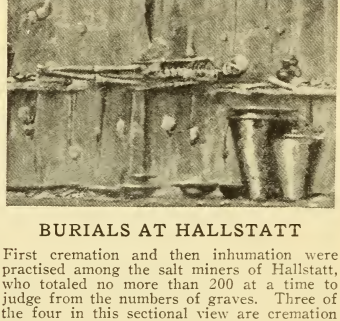
ucts of the new metal. In Styria and Carinthia, the Roman Noricum, there were mountains of ironstone waiting to be smelted. And soon the day came when the Illyrians of the hinterland began to exploit these vast resources. All that was now needed was to discover what that ore was. That done, iron production could begin. Thus dawned the Iron Age in Europe.

Among the nomads of upper Asia the ninth and eighth centuries before our era were years of unrest; the cold was driving the hunters of the north southwards. These convulsions urged westward towards Europe a remarkable people, the Scyths. By the time they reached our continent Mongoloid elements and Iranians, akin to the Persians, can be recognized amongst them. In Russia they found various backward tribes in possession of the country, but in the end managed to found a stable and centralized state, in which diverse peoples were combined under a single head.

The Scyths proper remained pure nomads. They lived so much on horseback that when out of the saddle they walked clumsily. The horse was the very center of their whole economy. The mares provided the milk that constituted the staple diet of their nomad masters. They were polygamists. Their wives lived virtually confined to the wagons in a sort of harem.

The Scythian nobles devoted all their time to the chase and war. Every Scyth was trained from his youth in warlike exercises and the use of the national weapon, the bow. The heads of foes were collected as trophies. The skin was stripped off and carefully dressed, and prominent warriors wore tunics made from such ghastly pelts. Skins stripped from the hands of foemen were used as coverings for quivers.

The religion of the Scyths was likewise tainted with savagery, and some of their deities demanded human sacrifices. At the funeral of a chief his wives, concubines and servitors were slain at the tomb. The tomb was an immense chamber of wood imitating the nomad's tent. In this the body of the chief was deposited with the remains of his women and attendants, his arms and his possessions, and the whole covered with a huge barrow. The material civilization



BURIALS AT HALLSTATT

First cremation and then inhumation were practised among the salt miners of Hallstatt, who totaled no more than 200 at a time to judge from the numbers of graves. Three of the four in this sectional view are cremation graves.

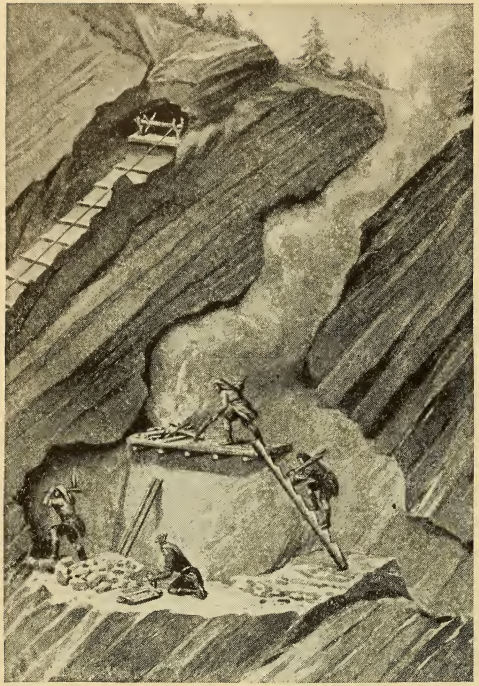
From Mahr, 'Das Vorgeschichtliche Hallstatt'

of the Scyths was, on the whole, higher than that of their neighbors farther west. They possessed iron and other metals in plenty, and could afford to use them freely for the manufacture of domestic appliances such as cauldrons, as well as for weapons and tools.

The riches of the Scyths are illustrated by the lavish use they made of the precious metals. No such wealth had ever before been known in Europe. Gold must have flowed to Scythia by caravan loads as tribute from the lands of far Altai. Such accumulation of wealth gave opportunities to art unknown among the barbarians of the west. Scythian art was essentially "zoomorphic." The Scythian craftsman could reproduce animal forms with marvellous verisimilitude, but at the same time displayed an uncanny skill in using stylized versions of such figures for purely decorative purposes.

To return from Scythia to the Danube and the Rhine is to pass into a region of barbarism where the struggle for bare existence and constant war still left scarcely any leisure for higher culture. The use of iron gradually gained ground, spreading first among the Illyrians of the Danube valley and Switzerland, then to the Celts of France and South Germany.

But shortly before 700 B.C., as the use of iron was gaining in popularity, especially in the valleys, the climate of central and northern Europe underwent a relatively abrupt change for the worse.



A BRONZE AGE MINE IN SECTION

There is material evidence for all the activities of these Bronze Age miners. We know that they could sink deep shafts, that they broke up the ore and washed it in wooden troughs before hauling it to the surface, and that ventilation was secured by a fire (primarily to break up the rock) in a special gallery.

After J. Andree, 'Bergbau auf Feuerstein, Kupfer, Zinn und Salz in Europa'

The continental era with its warm dry summers gave place to an epoch of cold and damp. It was no longer possible to work the Alpine copper and salt by means of open shafts, for the rain and melting snow poured in and flooded the workings. Hence many had to be abandoned.

There were compensations for the salt miners at Hallstatt; springs broke out afresh in the mountain sides, and the water percolating through the rock there was so impregnated with dissolved salt that the latter could easily be extracted by evaporation. So the settlement continued to flourish as a community of salt boilers instead of miners. But now Hallstatt had no pretensions to a monopoly; saline springs gushed out in Bavaria, Württemberg, central Germany, Lorraine and elsewhere.

The most serious result of the increased cold and moisture was, however, the movements of population which it provoked. The more pastoral tribes, who had hitherto roamed the heaths and hilly parklands, cast greedy eyes upon the open loess lands that lay so close, and descended upon the villages of the peasants in the dales. This "general post" of peoples was a long process protracted throughout the whole of the first Iron Age and in many areas lasting long into historical times.

Europe was peopled by a chaos of shifting and hostile tribes, which flit across the stage like the shadows of a dream. The Celts occupied eastern France, southwest Germany and perhaps parts of Bohemia and Austria. The highlands farther south were in Illyrian hands. Along the March, the upper Oder and the upper Elbe lived the ancestors of the modern Slavs or other Illyrians. Scandinavia and North Germany remained the domain of the Teutons, who were steadily pressing southward. Hungary was probably still Thracian. But neither Thracians nor Teutons used iron regularly before 500 B.C.

All these peoples were split up into a multitude of hostile tribes. And even the tribes lacked stability. The village was the only really stable unit, and the

village was always small. Hallstatt even at this epoch must have been an exceptionally important community, yet its free population scarcely exceeded 250 souls. Three hundred seems to have been the limit of persons ever congregated in a single center. Men often took refuge in miserable round huts half-excavated in the soil. Even the earliest settlers on the Seven Hills that became Rome, and their Latin kinsmen on the Alban hills, lived in such hovels.

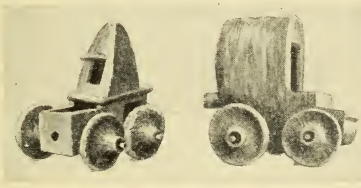
Farther north the log cabin had not altogether been abandoned. A more elaborate type of farmhouse was sometimes constructed: three log cabins round three sides of a fenced courtyard.

Owing to the weakness of the tribal authority villages were constantly at war with one another. Every village would vindicate its supposed rights against its neighbors by force of arms. Every summer there would be some sort of raid, cattle would be lifted, crops burnt, and some opponents enslaved or massacred. Thus life was precarious. The safety of the village and the lives and liberties of its inhabitants could be preserved only by dint of continual vigilance.

Yet this condition of continuous warfare and of chronic isolation was itself favorable to a certain concentration of power. Costly weapons were becoming a decisive factor in military success, and so in the very life of the group. The huge broadsword of iron was now the chief weapon, but it must have been beyond the reach of the ordinary villages. The center of manufacture lay in Noricum, and all the best weapons must be imported thence. Only a chief could afford one; the common folk were armed with bows, spears, knife-daggers or axes that could also be used in hunting or industry.

Moreover, the possession of a warhorse was the prerogative of the few and was a symbol of rank. The use of the war-chariot was at first restricted in Europe owing to the broken nature of most of the country. Only a very light vehicle could possess the speed and mobility needed for a fighting engine, and it was not until 500 B.C. that practicable two-wheeled chariot came into use among the Celts, who borrowed the idea from their Illyrian neighbors. With the adoption of the chariot, the long sword gave place to a short weapon adapted for in-fighting.

A standing army was a luxury no group could yet afford. Every citizen was, indeed, a soldier, but his armament was for the most part the implements of the huntsman and the farmer. And so the chief who could specialize in military pursuits and did possess horses and swords became more and more essential to the group's life. He must bear the brunt of the defense and take the lead in attack. The authority of the chief grew accordingly.

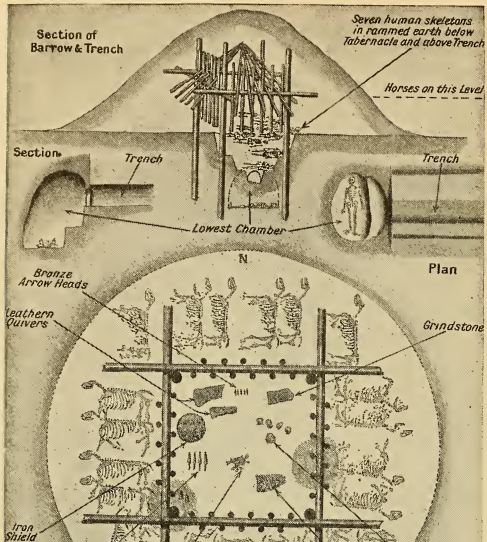


WAGON-HOMES OF THE NOMADS

The essentially nomadic quality of the Scyths is shown by their wagons, of which we possess toy models from graves at Kertch. They appear to be genuine homes on wheels with windows in the body and the superstructure.

After E. H. Minns, 'Scythians and Greeks'

However, at this date, concentration of power had made but little progress. Nowhere among the Celts, Illyrians or Teutons do we find anything approaching the Oriental luxury that testifies to the despotic power of the Scythians' kings. There was little or no difference between the costume of the chief and that of his subjects. The ordinary garb was a tunic over which was worn a cloak, fastened at the throat with a brooch of bronze. All the stuffs were homespun. A chief would show his wealth by greater profusion of ornaments; but even these were almost entirely of bronze or iron. The general effect must have been thoroughly barbaric—metal collars or strings of glass and amber beads round the throat, the arms and legs weighted with massive bangles and anklets, various pendants hanging from chains over the breasts. Equally modest everywhere was the



SLAUGHTER ROUND A SCYTHIAN TOMB

The Scyths buried their deceased chieftains in excavated chambers with a wooden tabernacle above. In the earth above the chamber were laid the chief's slaughtered household, and on the floor of the tabernacle his personal goods. The whole was then ringed with sacrificed horses and covered with a tumulus.

After E. H. Minns, 'Scythians and Greeks'

furniture of the table. Most vessels were of wood or earthenware. Only very exceptionally favored people like the lords of Hallstatt could afford bronze dishes. Vessels of gold were reserved to the service of the gods.

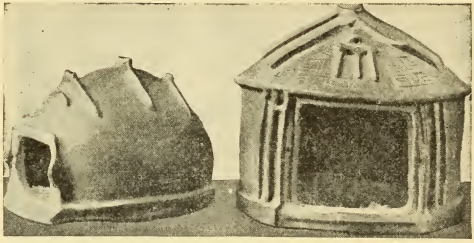
The dispersal of political power was the reflection of the economic isolation of the several units. Each village still tended to be self-sufficing. Wool and skins, supplemented by flax or linen grown in the village fields, provided the material for dress. Spinning and weaving and the preparation of hides were still performed within the family circle. All vessels were built up by hand, as the use of the potter's wheel had not penetrated beyond the Alps. However, at this period the art of vase-painting was revived. North of the Alps no painted vases had been made since about 2500 B.C.

All appliances were of a primitive kind. The plough was of wood. Ordinary vehicles were still built almost entirely of wood. The war-chariots of a chief and the processional cars for the sacred images alone had metal tires, fellies and cases for the spokes. Accordingly, the only craftsman required by every self-respecting village was the smith. But metal was very sparingly used, though its use destroyed the absolute economic isolation of the village, which was forced to import at least iron and bronze. The traveling pedlars had become respected merchants and their tracks are no longer marked by hoards of merchandise consigned to the ground and never recovered. At the same time regular fairs and markets were held in every district.

In Italy, the interior's most constant customer, the Etruscans had built up a flourishing urban civilization capable of paying generously for amber, tin, lead and iron. In Greece the great industrial cities like Corinth and Athens depended for their very existence upon their trade with foreign lands, and their commercial policy was orientated northwards as that of no civilized land had been before. And the Greek colonies planted at the mouth of the Adriatic, in Italy and Sicily and on the Gulf of the Lion, reproduced on these barbarian shores the commercial

and industrial life of the motherland. Such colonies became collecting stations indeed not only for amber and minerals, but also for furs, timber, slaves and, perhaps, agricultural produce.

New paths of trade now linked the interior of Europe to the Greeks of the coast and so to civilization. A certain amount of trade between Corcyra (Corfu) and the Illyrians of Bosnia was conducted along the Adriatic coasts and then up the valley of the Narenta. The city of Massalia (Marseilles) was founded by the Phocaeans about 600 B.C. at one end of an ancient trade route leading to the metalliferous region of the Cevennes and to the Atlantic coasts. The Celts became good purchasers of Greek commodities and also readily assimilated Greek inventions; they were the first people north of the Alps to adopt the potter's wheel and similar devices.



HUTS OF ROME'S BUILDERS

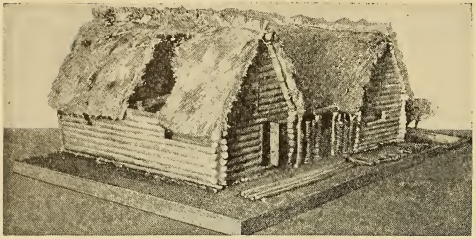
Clay funerary urns from prehistoric cemeteries on the Alban hills show us the actual shapes of Latin houses at the date of Rome's foundation. They were little better than mud hovels, partly excavated in the soil. Goat-herds of the Roman Campagna live in very similar circular thatched huts today.

Courtesy of Professor Halbherr

SCYTHS DEPICTED ON A FAMOUS VASE

On the silver gilt Voronezh vase illustrated above are modeled figures of Scyths, showing splendidly their facial type and peculiar garb. Though the vase dates from a period much later than that under review in the text—it is probably third-century B.C. work—and may have been executed by Greek artists working to a Scythian order, it no doubt shows the Scyths very much as they were when they entered Europe.

From 'Materials for the Archaeology of Russia'



LATE BRONZE AGE HOMESTEAD

From the remains preserved in the reclaimed moorland at Wasserburg Buchau in Upper Swabia it is possible to reconstruct a model of the homesteads built in Europe about 850 B.C. Three log cabins were grouped round a rectangular yard, and in front of this dwelling house were the barns.

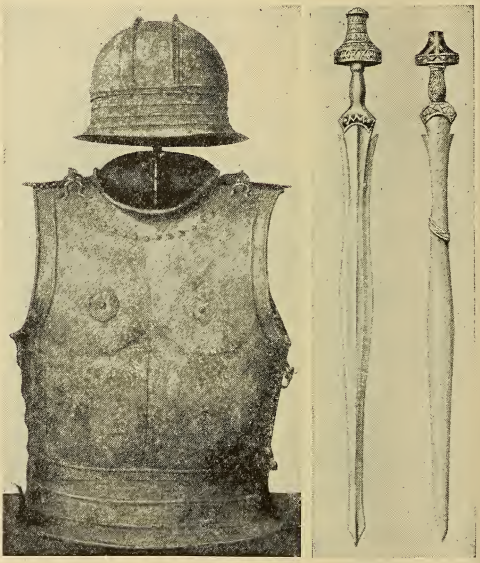
Courtesy of Urgeschichtliche Forschungsinstitut, Tübingen

The progress of western Europe was furthered by trade from east to west, the termini being presumably the tin areas of Brittany and Cornwall and the gold centers of Ireland. Along this route objects of British or Breton manufacture found their way as far east as Poland. It must be remembered that the old sea way along the western coasts still served as a link between Britain and Scandinavia on the one hand and the Mediterranean world on the other.

No coined money was yet in use beyond the Alps. By the Second Iron Age a regular currency of iron bars was in use in the Celtic regions, but earlier, when any standard unit of value other than the ox was used, rings of gold or copper seem to have been chosen.

Despite all these obstacles, trade was maintained; it formed a second factor leading towards a degree of unification that might result in the formation of the state. The centers where markets or fairs were held were already on their way to becoming towns. Regular commerce promoted a uniformity of culture and an economic interdependence that might easily find expression also in the political sphere.

A third factor tending in the same way was religion. The members of the same tribe were bound together by a common cult. Springs



GEAR OF IRON AGE WARRIORS

This iron helmet and cuirass, which may be assigned to Noricum (c. 500 B.C.) were outside the skill of the village smith and resources of the common folk, and probably belonged to a chief who imported bronze casques from Italy. The broadswords on the right were likewise lordly possessions.

From Museum für Völkerkunde (Berlin), and Déchette

and groves must already have been centers of worship. Wooden idols were also occasionally carved to represent the deity. A bronze vessel of Etruscan workmanship found in Styria, the "Strettweg Wagon," shows us a cult scene in which such a representation figures.

The older doctrines of a subterranean future life were now reasserting themselves against the belief in a sky home expressed in the rite of cremation. In Britain and among the Teutons of the North the body was still almost invariably burnt, but elsewhere there was a gradual tendency to revert to the older practice of inhumation. Nearly everywhere now the tomb was surmounted by a barrow.

The funeral of a chief was a great occasion. The body was borne to the graveside or to the pyre on a horse-drawn chariot. The dead man was buried or burned in full panoply. Sometimes even his chariot or car was consigned to the grave with him; in Scandinavia a chief was sometimes interred in his ship.

A funeral was the occasion for a great feast. Boxing contests and races were held in honor of the dead man, and his heirs would earn renown for him and themselves by the richness of the prize they offered the victor. Social gatherings of this sort had a political significance. The host by his munificence might increase his prestige and authority beyond his own immediate following, so that when the time came for action on a tribal scale he already had a foot on the ladder that might lead to kingship.

Art in the First Iron Age was poor and barbaric. When representations of the human or animal forms were attempted the execution was crude, and there is not a trace of the feeling for Nature displayed by the Scythian craftsmen. Nor were the geometric designs on bronze plaques or on clay vases as tasteful as those produced at earlier epochs. The Hungarian and Scandinavian bronzes of the fifteenth century B.C., for example, are much finer and more delicate. However, the use of polychromy had given the potter a wider scope.

GARB OF ABOUT 750 B. C.

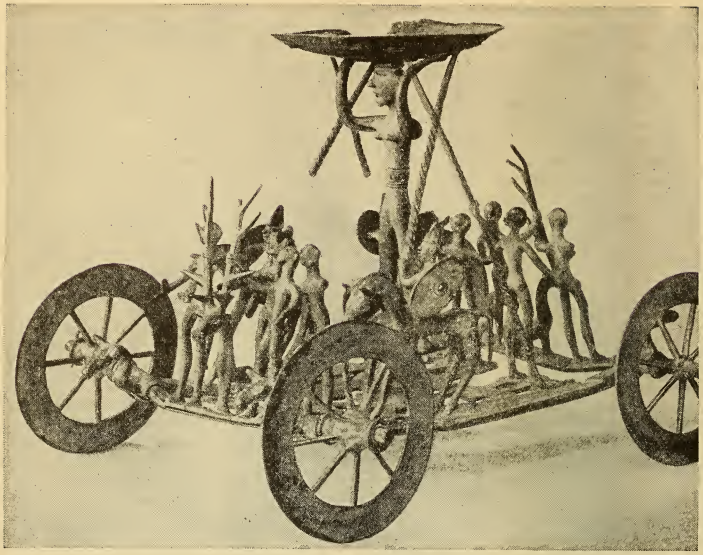
Coarse homespun tunic and cloak formed the dress of all ranks during the Hallstatt stage of culture. Ornaments were worn by men as well as women, the former to display wealth, the latter probably for purely personal adornment. In the reconstruction of a soldier with sword and dagger, a woolen cap is worn.

Mainz Museum

Hence, the First Iron Age saw a certain regression in some departments of culture, due simply to the fact that the epoch was a period of transition and readjustment. In the Bronze Age there had been plenty of vacant land to colonize, and this circumstance had induced, or rather perpetuated, a certain extravagance. Now the encroachment of the forest and the more frequent snows had restricted the territory available for occupation. During the First Iron Age the attempt was being made to apply the old extravagant methods of cultivation to the new worsened conditions.

Progress towards a better adjustment was slow. The Celts were destined to make the greatest advances. By the Second Iron Age the Celtic tribes were on their way to establishing diminutive states with a regular government and nuclei of urban life and capable even of uniting in larger federations. But no national state was ever to be evolved, and the Celtic homeland would become a Roman province.

Yet even in the fifth century the Celts had progressed far enough to be able to spread as conquerors all over central



IRON AGE IDOL TAKEN IN PROCESSION

Iron Age religion in Europe involved the worship of a mother goddess whose idol was taken once a year, it seems, from its sacred grove on a ceremonial procession. The famous Strettweg Wagon, a bronze object of Italian work found in Styria, shows such a scene. Horses' heads adorn the corners of the car, in the center of which stands the image guarded by helmeted warriors with their horses. At each end is a sacrificial stag surrounded by a group composed of a naked priest and his attendants.

From an electrotype copy in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Europe. They remained barbarians, but they carried with them the use of the potter's wheel, iron tongs and shears, and many other devices which were startling innovations north of the Alps before 400 B.C. This civilization spread by the Celts represents the highest achievement of barbarian Europe.

We need waste no tears over these barbarians when we come to see them subdued beneath the iron heel of Rome. Their incurable disunity was the prime cause of their fate, and it was but a symptom of a real cultural inferiority. But if we cannot exalt the ancient Celts and Teutons into pioneers of culture, we have no reason to be ashamed of our barbarian ancestors. They were astonishingly quick to assimilate such inventions as were transmitted to them from peoples who, through geographical and climatic circumstances, had a start of several thousand years. The advance from the Stone Age to a condition when the working of bronze and iron had been mastered was accomplished in 2,000 years; in Mesopotamia and Egypt the same advance had taken something like twice that time.

Nor were the European barbarians mere slavish imitators. It is scarcely an accident that in Asia Minor the epoch of invasion by European barbarians between 1400 and 1000 B.C. witnessed a sudden spurt in metal working and art. The Hellenic civilization of Classical Greece was, indeed, richer and deeper than the Minoan-Mycenaean which the intrusive Hellenic tribes had destroyed. The influx of European stocks in these cases

was really a vivifying flood in spite of all its destructive force.

As the Greeks saw, the weakness of the barbarians was their chronic disunity and incapacity for common action. Yet if isolation kept life on a mean scale, it prevented stagnation. Where there was a super-abundance of material wealth, and unlimited servile labor-power was available, there was no incentive to the invention of mechanical devices designed to save labor and material. Viewed from this standpoint, we see that European metal working, for instance, compares very favorably with that of any Oriental country from 1500 B.C.

Conversely, Europe escaped, on the whole, from the opposite danger that threatens savage societies—the dead weight of conservatism, reinforced by superstitious fears, that is such a fatal bar to initiative in many primitive communities. This superiority of the barbarians of Europe is to be explained partly by the peculiar merits of the Aryan speech they all employed; for words are the chief vehicles of abstract thought.

SCENES OF IRON AGE SOCIAL LIFE

Towards the end of the Hallstatt period there was a remarkable advance in art; it seems to have developed among Celtic or Illyrian tribes in contact with Ionian Greek traders and the higher cultures of Italy. This bronze pail (the 'Watsch Situla'), found at Watsch in Carniola, shows the art spreading north of the Alps. Of the three bands comprising the design the upper displays a religious procession; the middle, a ceremonial feast and a boxing match; and the lower, a decorative row of animals.

From Déchelette, 'Archéologie Celtique'

SCULPTURED RECORD OF ASHURBANIPAL'S PROWESS AS A LIONHUNTER

Ashurbanipal was particularly proud of his prowess in the chase, and the hunting scenes on the bas-reliefs from his palace are of extraordinary interest. Here (top right) a lion is shown being released from a cage by a man enclosed in a timber grating above it. To the left of this the king is shown on foot killing a lion in the very middle of its spring, the rapid charge of another no whit disturbing his equanimity. A still more wonderful exploit is depicted in the lower register, when Ashurbanipal (just out of view on the left) seized a lion of the desert by the tail.

British Museum; photo, Fleming

THE LIFE OF IMPERIAL NINEVEH AND BABYLON

INCLUDING A SUMMING-UP OF THE DEBT IN SCIENCE AND ART WHICH THE WORLD OWES TO MESOPOTAMIAN CIVILIZATION

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THE Assyrians were of the same stock as the Babylonians, but some close connection with the more northerly peoples had made their mentality a trifle lighter, their language less guttural and their natures more cruel. Their character may be summed up in the one word "efficiency." It was this capacity for taking unlimited pains that led to their success as an imperial power, but it was in the creation of this very empire that they ultimately exhausted themselves by dispersing their own people abroad, and so coming to an abrupt end, leaving nothing of its glory behind them.

The northern kingdom of Assyria was in debt for so much of its civilization to the southern Babylon that it is difficult to stress any broad distinction between the customs of the two. Indeed, we may consider the Assyrian civilization as bound up inextricably with the Babylonian. There is, therefore, nothing strained or bizarre in drawing on Babylonian sources to illustrate Assyrian life.

During the first half of the seventh century B.C. Assyria was at the zenith of her power. But even then the giant was tottering to his fall, and by 612 the end had come. The last remnant of the great empire was driven out of Nineveh and across the Tigris to Harran by the Medes and Babylonians, who were now to replace the Assyrians for three-quarters of a century as world-powers.

Babylon in its turn was to experience the pride and advantages of empire under the two kings, Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar, but the renaissance was to be of short duration. Babylon fell before the vigor of Persia in 539 B.C., when it ceased to have an independent existence, albeit for the next five hundred years there would still be families who clung faithfully to the old traditions.

ASSYRIAN ART

Bronze head of Akkadian workmanship, presumed to be of the third millennium B.C., discovered at Nineveh in 1930 by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson in the excavations conducted on behalf of the British Museum and financed by Sir Chas. Hide.

By the end of the eighth century B.C. Nineveh had become the capital of the Assyrian empire. Within the eight-mile circuit of the walls of Nineveh lay the two large mounds topped with the splendor of palace and temple, and from his rooftop here the great king could survey the crowded streets of the city.

Her most magnificent buildings towered high on the northern mound, where lay in the northern angle the palace of Ashurbanipal cheek by jowl with the temple of Nabu, while in the southern corner was Sennacherib's palace, close to the buildings of the ancient shrine of Ishtar. On the eastern side of the mound, topping the steep slope above the Khosr river, rose, at a bare

two hundred yards' distance from this temple, a little royal building of Sennacherib. From this mound, now called Kouyunjik, it is about a mile to the smaller mound (today called Nebi Yunus), which bore a palace of Esarhaddon.

It was Sennacherib, at the beginning of the seventh century, who set himself to make his palace into a pleasance. The task was ready to his hand: the old palace in the southern half of the mound was insignificant in his eyes, and the desire of architectural creation pressed hard upon him.

First, the foundations must be rebuilt. Then the great wall of the city must be improved, and fifteen gates built or restored therein. The quarries of marble, whence the Assyrian kings could obtain an almost inexhaustible supply of stone for decorating their palaces, must have been coveted by the Babylonians, who had no such store at hand. Yet, after the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C., when Nebuchadrezzar was doing his utmost to make his capital worthy, the great city could boast no triumphs of sculptured stone such as had delighted the Assyrian kings. Whether the Ninevite quarries fell into disuse, or whether the transport of heavy blocks over the Tigris rapids, and thence across to Babylon, was impracticable, is not clear; but all the excavations show that the Southerners succeeded in obtaining only the limestones and breccias of the Upper Euphrates.

So limited, the Babylonian king turned himself to make his beloved city a vision of simplicity, to rise as a triumph of brick, yellow, saffron, amber, in challenge to the more fortunate possessors of stone—an unashamed nakedness of plain brick mass. To this day his ruined buildings still proclaim their impressive revelation of heroic construction out of humble clay.

Babylon had a perimeter of more than eleven miles. To the north lay the mound now called Babil, bearing what seems to have been a palace of Nebuchadrezzar. In the middle was a vast cluster of magnificent buildings, temples, and the great palace of the king, and, above all, the famous double Gates of Ishtar, adorned with reliefs in nine rows of protecting dragons and bulls. And then to the south, high over everything, uprose the temple tower E-temen-an-ki, the Tower of Babel round which have grown age-long traditions.

SLAVES OF SENNACHERIB

After his return from his expedition to Egypt, Sennacherib set about the building of Nineveh, employing forced labor drawn from the various peoples whom he had subjugated. This bas-relief from Kouyunjik shows laborers, yoked like cattle to the draw-carts, hauling timber and bringing ropes and staves.

British Museum; photo, Mansell

Nebuchadrezzar at Babylon and Sennacherib at Nineveh sought thus to delight the eye, each in his own way. But neither of these kings had the genius of Ashurbanipal, that greatest of Assyrian kings. Magnificent though Ashurbanipal's palace in the northern half of the mound was, it was of little worth compared with his greatest work, the collection of a cuneiform library from all sources. It was his chief pleasure to collect books, and so successful was he that excavators have found the remains of some twenty thousand pieces of these tablets scattered over the larger mound; they are almost all now in the British Museum. From this library so much of our knowledge of Assyria is derived that we can make its

tablets the base of our present description.

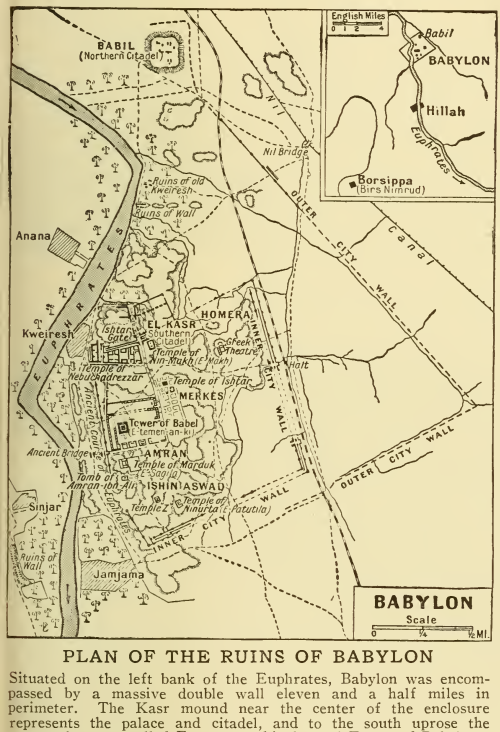
As head of the state, the king was a typical despot, but not without some limitation to his tyrannic powers. The administration of his empire was carried on throughout the provinces by local governors. In the Assyrian laws we find the people divided into three classes—freeman, *Ashshuraiu* (literally, "Assyrian"), and slave. Doubtless the upper grades of the army and the civil service were drawn from the more aristocratic families, while in every town each guild of craftsmen, potters, coppersmiths and the rest, would work in its own quarter.

The king was in nominal control of the army, and frequently took the field in person. If not, the command was delegated to his son, the crown prince, or to the commander-in-chief.

The army itself at this time consisted of two classes, the regular troops and the national militia, and was divided into chariotry, light horse, infantry, engineers and siege troops. The regular infantry, in a uniform of tunic with crossbelts, helmet plumed in Greek style, kilt and high boots, were the King's Guard. They were used in time of peace for overseeing the captives at work on the royal buildings and policing the ground when their royal master hunted captured lions.

In time of war the militia would be mobilized as well. A company of infantry consisted of twenty-five files, subdivided into sections of five files, including a sergeant, and their marching formation would appear to have been in fives. Each file consisted of an archer and a spearman with a shield, and no matter how much the shock of battle had split up the company, the spearman would rarely be separated from his archer comrade.

Even for an Assyrian king with his well-disciplined army, a campaign was a serious undertaking. First would come the muttering of disaffection, of rumours of restlessness on the frontier. So would the slow rumor spread, until the government would send a demand for information from the commander nearest the danger zone, and he in his turn would send his spies into the capital of the malcontents. Then his report, all written on a small



PLAN OF THE RUINS OF BABYLON

Situated on the left bank of the Euphrates, Babylon was encompassed by a massive double wall eleven and a half miles in perimeter. The Kasr mound near the center of the enclosure represents the palace and citadel, and to the south uprose the temple tower called E-temen-an-ki, the real Tower of Babel.

From Koldewey, 'Das Ischtar-Tor in Babylon,' J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig

These slabs vividly portray the activities of camp life in one of the campaigns of Ashur-nasir-pal. On the left, army cooks are preparing food in an exceedingly well equipped field kitchen, which illustrates the minute attention paid to detail in the organization of the Assyrian army; on the right horses are being groomed and watered.

Here again are graphic touches demonstrating the interest taken by the kings' sculptors in the scenes and incidents of their masters' progresses, which they must have accompanied in the capacity of historiographers royal. An officer returns to his quarters, where one servant brings him water to quench his thirst, and another makes up the camp-bed in the already pitched tent. Outside, two gaunt camels seem to quarrel over their ration heaped up before them, as to-day, on a cloth.

SCENES FROM CAMP LIFE WHEN ASHUR-NASIR-PAL WENT TO WAR

British and Berlin Museums

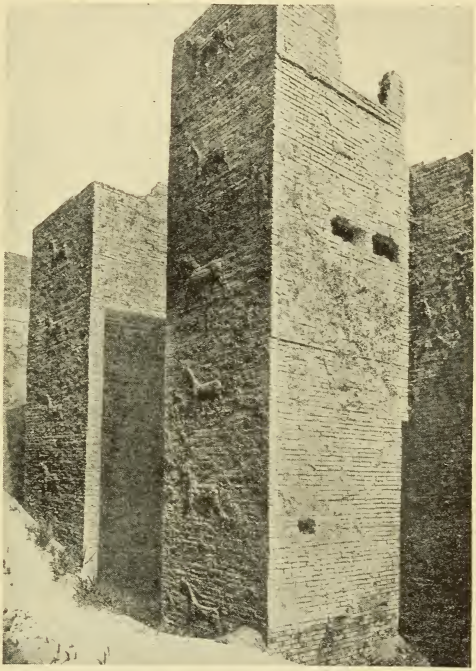
tablet of clay, would be entrusted to express riders, who must have been in relays at different posts, like the Persian "angaroi," a word taken directly from the Babylonian "agiru," hireling.

With the outbreak of war the anxiety of the king stares us in the face out of his tablets, which pray the god for an oracular response: "Will the king return alive from this campaign, will he walk again in his palace at Nineveh?" The priests obtain a favorable reply from the oracle.

With this encouragement the morale of the troops is heightened: the regular troops are ready, a contingent of the militia has been mobilized with horses and carts for transport. The king's chariot, with all its paraphernalia for the comfort of its royal master, rumbles over the cobbles at a walk, well away from the dust of the sweating troops; and presently the royal secretary will have an opportunity of extolling his lord's hardihood in the annals of the campaign, showing how he dismounted from his chariot and was carried up the rugged steeps of the mountains in a palanquin, and then, when passage even to this was denied by the steeps, how he actually climbed them on foot, and quenched his thirst like a common soldier from a "leather bottel."

Must a river be crossed by the troops? The sappers can build a pontoon bridge of skin floats, and the sturdy privates can swim across on bladders. Whence will be supplied the deficiencies in the commissariat? Why, has ever Oriental army gone warring without despoiling the peasants of the country?

Are the enemy yet within striking distance? Then throw up a camp fortified with towers, and pitch tents against the sun, wind and rain, move the troops inside with all their stores, and in the safest part set up the king's quarters, with even his gods and their altars. The enemy will concentrate in their best fortified cities, and jeer from behind the safety of their walls. Ring the walls about with archers behind stout shields, to shut them in, and pick off the caitiffs on the battlements, and then let your slingers behind the archers, with longer range for their stones



TOWERS OF THE ISHTAR GATE

Figures of bulls and dragons in enameled relief, flat enamel and brick relief adorned the walls of the Ishtar Gate at Babylon. They were set in horizontal rows, a line of bulls alternating with one of dragons. The word for these 'Dragons of Babylon' was 'Sirrush.' They were associated with Marduk.

Koldewey, 'Das Ischtar-Tor,' J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig

ASSYRIAN FILES ON PARADE

Each file of an Assyrian infantry regiment consisted of an archer and a spearman with shield. Both wore tunics and a broad belt round the waist.

British Museum; photo, Mansell

than arrows have, pour down on the defenders a hail of missiles.

Push up penthouses and siege-engines under cover of their fire to batter in the gates; set your sappers to dig out bricks from the walls, to breach an opening. Vae victis! Torture the chiefs, kill all rebels, carry off the women, deport the remnant to some far province, where they will give no more trouble; loot and burn, and return home with the spoils so hardly gathered by the poor wretches in their prosperity.

Doubtless, with the toil of campaigning over, the Assyrian monarch would be caught thinking war the true pastime, and its only alternative "Let's go look at our lions." For lion hunting in an arena near the palace gardens was one of the greatest delights of Assyrian kings in time of peace. The arena shall be kept clear by armed guardsmen, who will see to it that the lions are kept within bounds; then the brutes will be brought in in cages, and loosed when the king is ready in his chariot, or mounted on his stallion, with bow bent and arrow on the string.

Enough, then, of blood and killing. Let us turn to the more peaceful pursuits of the civil populace.

Law in Assyria had been tabulated by the twelfth or thirteenth century, and there appears to be no little connexion with the earlier Babylonian material, though the penalties in use in Assyria were harsher. The unfortunate Assyrian who broke the laws made himself liable to the death penalty, all kinds of mutilations, flogging up to a hundred blows, hard labor on the king's "corvée," or fines amounting to two talents of lead; and if a woman caused herself to miscarry intentionally, she was impaled.

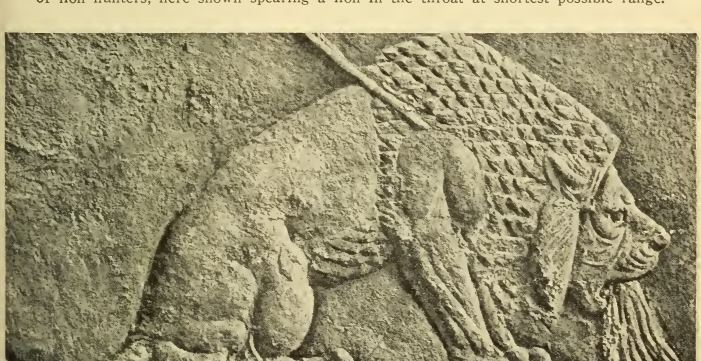
Apart from the law and the army,

THE RIVER SUBMITS TO THE CONQUEROR

How Assyrian troops crossed the rivers that cut across their line of march is illustrated with much detail on numerous bas-reliefs. This strip, from Shalmaneser's bronze gates at Balawat, shows chariots crossing on a pontoon; notice the drivers' firm handling of the reins and the caution of the men at the horses' heads.

British Museum

How many lions Ashurbanipal killed cannot be ascertained. Tiglath-pileser I boasts in one inscription of having killed eight hundred, and Ashurbanipal was probably no more modest in computation of his score. Bow, axe and spear were equally deadly in the hands of this prince of lion hunters, here shown spearing a lion in the throat at shortest possible range.



Assyrian sculptors were especially successful in their representation of lions, to whose various attitudes and characteristics they devoted close attention. Exceptionally fine is this study of a lion mortally wounded by an arrow that still sticks in his body. It has pierced some great vessel and the life blood gushes from the mouth of the dying brute, who with humped shoulders grips the ground with all four feet in a last effort to prevent himself from rolling over on to the sand.

LIONS THAT FELL TO THE BOW AND SPEAR OF ASHURBANIPAL

British Museum; photos, Mansell

SIEGE OPERATIONS IN FULL SWING

Noticeable in this relief of a scene in one of Ashur-nasir-pal's campaigns is the six-wheeled, tank-like battering-ram, effectively engaged in breaching the wall. Another remarkable component of the Assyrian war material is the movable turret used to raise the archers of the besieging forces to the level of the parapet.

British Museum; photo, Mansell

there was a large field for a young man in the priesthood. The first essential for the young acolyte was that he should be perfect in body. His training began with his learning to read and write a clerkly hand in cuneiform on clay tablets. Then in due course would come his participation in temple ritual when he learnt to propitiate the god, following in the long train of priests, led perhaps by the king himself.

It was part of the responsibilities of the temple to maintain a library, to which pious Babylonians dedicated copies of books, and series of books, as ex-voto offerings. Such a library existed in the temple of Nabu at Nineveh, which, as far as we know at present, was provided, at least in later times, by the great amateur Ashurbanipal.

The first essays in scientific observation are to be seen in the early Babylonian vocabularies of words of the fourth millennium B.C., of gods, officials, etc., which were made by the scribes of the ancient city of Shuruppak, the legendary scene of the Flood.

In fact, dictionary making was to reach such a pitch under the later Assyrian and Babylonian kings that it can be best described as a passion. In these lists are included bilingual dictionaries of Sumerian and Semitic; phrase books in the two languages; synonymous words in Semitic Akkadian; and, although more rarely, dictionaries of foreign words with Akkadian equivalents—Hittite, Kassite and even Egyptian. Then there are the lists of gods, temples, stars, countries; objects made of metal, wood and cloth; and, more interesting still, the animals, stones and plants.

With these three last groups we are chiefly concerned, because of their obvious bearing on Assyrian science. The largest of the three groups embraces the lists of plants.

These plant lists show that the Assyrian botanists had grouped their plant names in a definite order, or, at the most (since it is difficult to reconcile the variations which do occur), two orders. It is clear that their ideas about species and genera are by no means the same as ours, but as practical lists their work is admirable. The number of Assyrian names given to species of the vegetable kingdom runs into many hundreds.

As illustrating their knowledge of drugs we may instance hemp or cannabis, called in Assyrian the "plant for spinning," "rope-plant" or "plant for fodder," but particularly "plant for sorrow" —that is, it had an intoxicating effect, well known in the ancient East for raising the spirits of a man in grief; hellebore, which they called the ataishu plant—that is, the "sneeze-plant"; opium,

'I am Ashurbanipal, king of hosts, king of Assyria, whom Ashur and Belit have endowed with might. Against the lions that I slew I directed the powerful bow of Ishtar, the lady of battle, and I made an offering and poured out a libation over them.' So reads the epigraph above this altar, before which the proud hunter stands with four dead lions at his feet, with his fan-bearers, bowman and grooms behind him and musicians playing stringed instruments.

Lion hunting from a chariot must have been little, if at all, less dangerous than lion hunting on foot if the great beasts often came to such close quarters as here represented. The king—Ashur-nasir-pal in this instance—has hardly laid one lion low ahead of him before he has to turn to dispose of another behind, actually with its paws in the chariot. At the end of the day the 'bag' was brought in by the hunt servants and laid out at the feet of the sportsmen (right). No fewer than eighteen lions are depicted in one series of these reliefs, eleven dead and seven terribly wounded.

THE KING OF BEASTS AS SPORT FOR KINGS IN NINEVEH'S GREAT DAYS

British Museum; photos, Mansell

of which it was said that it was like the mandrake (in its narcotic effects); the mandrake, called namtar-ira, or namtar-gira, from which the Greeks made mandragora.

The next in importance are the pharmacopoeia lists, arranged in three columns, giving the plant, the disease for which it is employed, and the method of use. Liquorice-root is "a drug for coughing," to be crushed and drunk in beer; aloes are "a drug for bile," also to be crushed and drunk; and then there is a plant called "urtû," used for anointing in oil, that lice should not be on a man's body.

From these brief reminders for the physician we can turn to the real medical texts, giving numerous recipes for different diseases, with the diagnosis in full, followed by how they were to be administered.

If a man's eyes are full of yellow rheum, bray and blow pomegranate rind, an excellent styptic, into them through a reed-tube; for inflammation of the eyes, bray dust from a copper saucepan and apply it in curd to them, copper being a well-known remedy. These are but specimens of what may be enumerated as thousands of such recipes, which provide for everything from a scorpion sting to a difficult childbirth.

No doctor, however, could quite shake himself free from magic, and even to the baldest lists of medical recipes the Assyrian would sometimes add a charm of his own.

If the profession desired were that of a practical chemist, as with the doctor many branches of knowledge were necessary. The aspirant had to have something of the priest in him, for no glass-furnace could be made without due sacrifices to the spirits of embryos born before their time. He must be also a geologist, for the compounds, for which his text-books provided recipes, demanded many earths and substances out of the earth, and he must also know something of medicines, particularly poisons. Finally, he must be something of an artist in making colored glazes.

ASHURBANIPAL IN HIS CHARIOT

Although immediately identifiable here by his tiara and post of honor beneath the state umbrella, a king is commonly distinguished from meaner mortals in Assyrian sculpture only by his greater stature and more magnificent beard. The beard was a sign of the military caste, and the beardless figures in this bas-relief represent eunuchs in the royal service.

The Louvre

The Assyrian chemist was the forerunner of the medieval alchemist, without the latter's perpetual ambition to discover the elixir which was to produce gold out of some baser metal. Doubtless his first training was with the priestly staff of the temple, where he could study the books on stones and chemicals. He would learn from the seal-cutters how to identify other stones from their color.

Still more advanced, he would probably learn that certain of the stones would effervesce under acid, which was another distinguishing test, after which he would learn that there was a connexion between the hard black seal-stone, haematite, and the wonderful magnetic stone; that a form of arsenic (orpiment) was useful as gold paint, and the test of arsenic was that it gave off a smell as of garlic when fire was applied.

Also he would learn how the different "vitriols" (in the ancient sense of the word) were produced. He would learn that "green vitriol," artificially made, formed itself like grape-clusters, and that the beautiful blue crystals of blue vitriol were called in his tongue "heavenly blue." And then would come the application of this knowledge to practical use in glass-making.

With this brief sketch of terrestrial knowledge we can go on to the Assyrians' theories of the cosmos and their astronomy.

From very early times the science of mathematics had attracted the dwellers in Mesopotamia, as would be only natural in a nation which paid so much attention to star-gazing, as well as to business, and the necessary surveys for land measuring. The pupil, at an early age in Babylonian history, would find cuneiform books of multiplication tables and the like, and at subsequent periods tables of square and cube roots. Even at the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon (c. 2000 B.C.) there were enough formulae invented to train a man to be an efficient estate-agent.

When we reach the seventh century the science of the stars was still, for the most part, astrology; but already it was being turned to the practical use of determining the length of the month. From a very early time the Babylonians had known the difference between the solar and the lunar year, and in order to make the two coincide they added, from time to time, an intercalary month. From the ancient observation of these two years, the lunar and the solar, with the division of the ecliptic into twelve signs which are almost the same as those in use today, had arisen the so-called Sexagesimal System for which the Sumerians were famous, and which we have inherited in our divisions of time. The Sexagesimal System gave rise to the smaller time-divisions of "bêrê," or double-hours. That these were made is proved by the report of an ancient astrologer on the equinox, which states that on a certain day the day and night were equal, there having been six bêrê to each.

This at once leads us to the invention of the clepsydra, or water-clock, which the Babylonians probably had in the

BABYLONIAN CARTOGRAPHY

In this Babylonian map of the world the great circle marks the Ocean, while in the smaller circles are Babylon and other cities, and elsewhere mountains and swamps are indicated.

British Museum

seventh century, certainly in the Seleucid period (c. 300 B.C.). Herodotus credits the Babylonians with the invention of the gnomon, a kind of sun-dial, and the polos, a concave dial for measuring time.

As far as the Assyrian or Babylonian was concerned, the heavenly bodies, at which he gazed so intently in order to learn the will of the gods, had been set in their places in the sky and given the ordinance of their movements by the gods.

For the Assyrian the stories of the

Surprised by beaters, a herd of wild asses is scattered by the hounds from Ashurbanipal's kennels and takes to flight, only for some of them to be pierced by arrows and others to be pulled down by the great mastiffs baying at their heels. The fine beast turning to look back after the doomed foal is an especially successful study from the life.

For accuracy of observation and truth of attitude and movement there is little that any modern school of animal painters could have taught the unknown sculptor responsible for these portrayals of the wild ass. Of these three lower animals, the least successful is the one just lassoed, for service perhaps at stud, since mules were much used in the East; the most successful, that on the right, lashing out with its hind heels to keep off its pursuers.

HUNTING WILD ASSES IN ASSYRIA: A SCULPTOR'S MASTERPIECE

British Museum; photos, Mansell

creation of the world were those which tradition had handed down. He accepted without cavil the stories as given in his texts, after having made in the main version a monstrous and fundamental change. The legend had been borrowed from Babylon, where the hero of the story had been the national god Marduk; as soon as the Assyrians took it over the hero was changed to Ashur, a very typical piece of priestly juggling.

In the beginning when the heavens were not and the earth beneath was not formed, the Deep, Apsû, and the Dragon, Tiâmat, with Mummu to do their behests, were the only creations. Then from the union of these two first-named were two deities born, Lakhmu and Lakhamu, and from these sprang Anshar and Kishar, who in turn gave being to Anu (the Sky), from whom was begotten Ea, god of the earth beneath and the waters under the earth in particular. But the gods thus created so disturbed their pristine parent, Apsû, that he took counsel with Tiâmat that they might destroy them. Tiâmat, however, would not agree to slay her own offspring, but Mummu encouraged the wicked plan of Apsû, and this came to the ears of Ea, who by magic cast a deep sleep on Apsû and then killed him and bound Mummu as prisoner. Then was the national god Marduk, son of Ea (in the Babylonian version), born, or, as in the Assyrian account, Ashur, son of Lakhmu and Lakhamu.

Tiâmat, however, robbed of her husband, meditated revenge, and to this end bore monsters of all kinds, exalting Kingu over them, and prepared to fight the gods. Ea again heard of this and was greatly perturbed in mind, and on going for help to Anshar was advised to encounter the dragon; but his spirit failed him and he would not. Then Anshar told his son Anu to go, but he turned back in terror at sight of her, and, finally, Marduk was besought to take up the championship, and he accepted gladly. Ultimately there was a tremendous fight between Marduk and Tiâmat, in which the god was victorious, slaying the great dragon, and then taking Kingu prisoner.

MUSIC FOR ASHURBANIPAL

Priests chanted to the accompaniment of the sounds of harp and drum. This marble slab from Kouyunjik shows the Assyrian harp with twelve strings.

British Museum; photos, Mansell

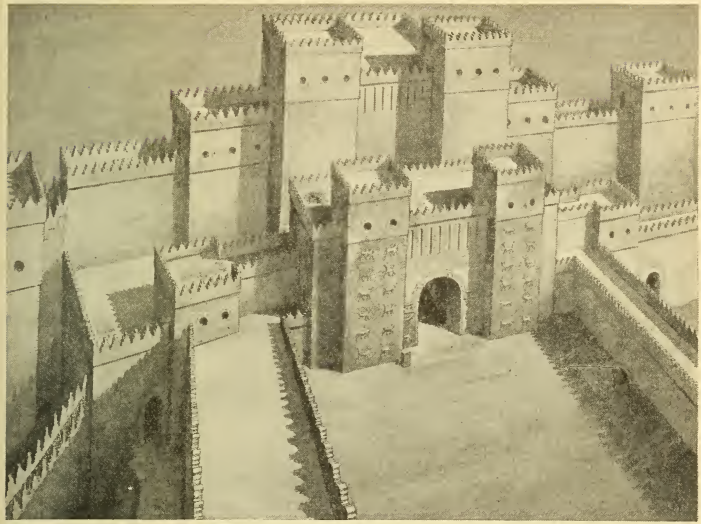
Here begins the creation of cosmos: Marduk splits the great dragon into two halves to make the heavens, and settles the ordinance of the heavenly bodies, and the duration of periods of time. Then, in order that the gods might be duly served, he creates Man by slaying the iniquitous Kingu, and using his blood.

Such, then, was the orthodox cosmogony. Heavens were regarded as being in three successive layers, above the flat

GENERAL VIEW FROM THE WEST OF THE RUINS OF THE ISHTAR GATE

This photograph enables one to realize the formidable nature of the defences of Nebuchadrezzar's fortress palace, of which the Ishtar Gate was part, showing how the approach to the gate itself was guarded by advanced outworks to the north. The round column on the left is one of the postaments for the bronze colossi of bulls and serpent figures that Nebuchadrezzar placed in the entrance of the gate. The column is of burnt brick and rests in a sub-structure of crude brick, shaped like a well and filled up with earth in which it could shift about at the base without leaning over.

From Koldewey, 'Das Ischtar-Tor,' in Veroff. der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig



RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ISHTAR GATE AS IT WAS IN ITS PRIME

Largest and most impressive of the ruins of Babylon, the Ishtar Gate was erected by Nebuchadrezzar at the north-east corner of is southern citadel to provide a noble approach to the Processional Road that ran southward to the temple of Marduk. It was a double gateway set between wing-like additions to the walls of the citadel, and consisted of two doorways, one behind the other, commanded by projecting towers and formed into one block by short connecting walls.

From Koldewey, 'Das Ischtar-Tor,' J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig

earth, which was surrounded by the ocean. Beyond this earthly ocean was the lofty dam which bounded it and supported the heavens, and from a gate in the eastern mountains therein issued the sun on his daily round to the western gate. Beneath the earth was the dark, forbidding Underworld, containing the seven-walled abode of the dead.

With all their limitations, however, the Assyrians were beginning to settle the science of astronomy on a firm basis, albeit their use for their observations was in the main astrological. They reckoned seven planets, the sun, the moon, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Saturn, and one of their astronomers describes them as "stars which pass over their own road over themselves." Even in the seventh century they may have been able to foretell eclipses of the moon, from the eighteen-year "saros" period (within which eclipses recur), although they could not always state which would be visible at Nineveh.

Their passion for astrology led them to record the presence of stars within the larger and the smaller haloes of the moon. The sun's path through the ecliptic they had long ago divided into twelve signs of the Zodiac; Venus was carefully observed even in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon (Ammizaduga, eighteenth century B.C.). After the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C., down almost to the Christian era, the science of astrology was beginning to develop into a very sound astronomy.

It remains now to sum up the leading characteristics of the inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria by tracing the development of the Semitic mind and capacity, and their ultimate influence on the later civilizations. What were the

CROSSING RIVERS THAT BARRED THE LINE OF MARCH

How Assyrian troops crossed rivers is illustrated with much detail on numerous bas-reliefs. The upper strip, from Shalmaneser's bronze gates, shows chariots crossing on a pontoon; notice the drivers' firm handling of the reins and the caution of the men at the horses' heads. The lower relief shows Ashur-nasir-pal seated in his chariot on a ferry boat behind which his swimming horses are led by a rein, while a soldier swims, supported by an inflated bladder.

British Museum; lower photo, Mansell

causes of the greatness, and at the same time the inferiority, of the Semites of the Mesopotamian valley?

To answer this properly demands, first, a review of the Semitic character in its power of expansion, and its limitations of aim. Broadly speaking, two factors accentuate their defects, and these were, first, the enervating climate of Babylonia, and, secondly, their natural conservatism.

If we essay to indicate the character of the ancient Semites, we must ascribe to them an intense devotion, not necessarily fanatic, to their gods; loyalty to their race rather, perhaps, than their country; kindness and faithfulness to their families and friends; professionally a great capacity for trade, and a judicious courage in time of war; a high appreciation of music, which shows itself in the rhythm and beauty of the imagery in their poetry, and a nice perception of literary details; and in all their doings an efficient practical outlook.

On the other hand, metaphysical abstractions had little charm for them; they cared little for original channels of thought, and were, as a rule, very unready to accept new conceptions in religion. Although they allowed themselves no little freedom in translating the poetic epics, they were conservative in their copying of ancient rituals and religious services, thus unwittingly withholding the proper application of a very learned scholarship from the realm of physics. In this, nothing but the most daring originality could eliminate the

CHARMING STUDY FROM THE LIFE: GAZELLES AT PEACE BEFORE THE HUNT ARRIVES

Admirable alike in composition and in actual drawing, this bas-relief of a herd of gazelles and kids grazing quietly before the chase begins is perhaps the most charming of the hunting scenes from Ashurbanipal's palace. Only the hindmost animal seems conscious of approaching danger, and with turned head sniffs the wind before giving the alarm. Beyond, a companion continues to crop the grass and two kids trot behind their mother; the others pursue their as yet undisturbed progress. There is a realism in the representation that can only come from personal observation of the actual scene.

British Museum; photo, Mansell

OFF TO THE CHASE: HOUNDS ON LEASH FROM THE ROYAL KENNELS

Numerous reliefs on stone and on terra-cotta give life-like pictures of the hounds used by Assyrian magnates for hunting big game in the deserts and marshes, wild boar, hyena and panther and perhaps lions. The hound was of a mastiff breed, powerfully built, and its characteristics are so clearly defined that naturalists think it can be identified with a species of dog still extant in Central Asia, although not actually in Mesopotamia.

British Museum; photo, Mansell

infinite fantasies born of ancient savage credulity which ultimately in their descendants became definite and unassailable convictions, to be perpetuated by an uncompromising priesthood. The efforts of their learned men came to a spontaneous end in the persistent limitations of their religion against which no one had the initiative or even the desire to struggle.

This lack of invention is equally obvious throughout the Semitic domination of Babylonia, where the Sumerians were the founders of everything; the Semites borrowed practically all their literature, and only in their historical inscriptions or their free translations of the epics did their imagery lead them to be original. In sculpture their very technique was borrowed from the Sumerians. It is true that their great practicality had made them excel as law-givers, but here again we cannot eliminate the probability of Sumerian connexion. Indeed, there is one obvious and outstanding debt which the different Semites owe to their neighbors, and that is the alphabets which they borrowed.

Nevertheless, in spite of all their conservatism, which is the mark of so many people in the East, the Semites by their great power of observation undoubtedly wrested many a secret from Nature, and we are today greatly their debtors for the largesse which their caravaneers passed on.

THE DORIAN INVASION AND IONIAN MIGRATIONS

A PERIOD OF STORM AND STRESS THAT BESET THE GREEK WORLD IN THE DARK AGES AFTER THE TROJAN WAR

By W. R. HALLIDAY

Principal of King's College, London; Late Rathbone Professor of Ancient History in the University of Liverpool; Author of 'The Growth of the City State,' etc.

For the Greeks two events stood out in the tradition of their past as necessary points of departure for any attempt to reconstruct its history: one was the Trojan War and the other was the 'return of the Heraclidae,' which was said to have taken place some eighty years after the fall of Troy.

The story ran that Heracles had taken service with Aegimius, a Dorian chieftain in Thessaly, fought for him against the Lapiths, and was rewarded with a third of his kingdom. Hyllus, the son of Heracles, was confirmed in the possession of the land and was adopted by Aegimius upon equal terms with his own two sons, Pamphylus and Dyman. Hence the names of the three tribes, Hylleis, Pamphyloi and Dymanes, into which Dorian communities were divided.

In the second generation an attempt was made to recover the possessions of Heracles in the Peloponnese, but it was left to the hero's great-grandchildren, Temenus, Cresphontes and Aristodemus, to sail across the Corinthian Gulf from the "Place of Ship-building" (Naupactus) under the guidance of a one-eyed Aetolian chief named Oxylus. Oxylus and his Aetolians overran Elis and settled there. For the rest of the conquered Peloponnese the victorious brothers cast lots; Argos fell to Temenus, Messenia to Cresphontes and Laconia to Aristodemus. Aristodemus, however, died leaving twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, who jointly succeeded to their father's portion. This was the explanation offered by legend for the curious phenomenon of a dual monarchy in historical Sparta.

From Argos the Dorians established themselves in Sicyon, Phlius and Epidaurus in north-eastern Peloponnese, and, somewhat later, in Aegina. In this area Corinth alone possessed traditions of an independent settlement from the sea by a certain "Wanderer, son of Cavalier" (Aletes, son of Hippobotes), but, whatever her origin, Corinth in her early days was also under the suzerainty of Argos. The story of a further wave of invasion sweeping up from the south, to be shattered by the heroic king Codrus upon the borders of inviolate Attica, is probably due to Athenian vanity. What is certainly true is that from Corinth Megara was conquered and 'Doricised,' as a date appreciably later than the north-eastern Peloponnese.

The whole of the best land in the Peloponnese had thus been occupied by invading tribes. What had happened to its original possessors? Some had been reduced to serfdom; some, no doubt, fled to the two areas which invasion had spared. The Dorians had turned aside from the barren uplands of Arcadia to more profitable conquests; they had left, too, the narrow strip between the Arcadian mountains and the Corinthian Gulf, the Achaea of historical times. The displacement of population involved in an invasion upon this scale must have more than local consequences; nor were Arcadia and Achaea, the poorest parts of a country nowhere capable of supporting a very dense population, likely to be able to absorb the whole of the fugitives.

The greater part fled to Attica for refuge. But Attica, again, had owed her boasted immunity from invasion largely to the poverty of her soil. Another outlet must be found. So, under Athenian leadership, the refugees set sail for the coast of Asia Minor, where, between the

DISTRIBUTION OF THE GREEK STATES AFTER THE DORIAN INVASION

What the Greeks knew at the 'return of the Heraclidae,' or the Dorian Invasion, we must recognize as a general immigration, from Macedonia or northern Greece into the Achaean world, of ruder Greek-speaking folk, not necessarily all 'Dorian' in the narrower sense. The entry of the Boeotians and Aetolians, for instance, into the regions later called after them must have been part of the associated movements. This map shows Greece as the Dorians remodeled it; compare the map in page 369.

Aeolian settlements of the north and the Dorian settlements of the south, a central area was yet unoccupied by the Greeks.

If the Ionian Migration, as it is called, represents the last phase of the settlement of the Anatolian coast, the Dorian Invasion of the Peloponnese was similarly but the last of a series of connected movements, which changed the conditions of the Greek world as depicted in the Homeric poems to those prevailing in historical times. Homeric Greece (see Chap. 21) we may conveniently call Achaean, but who these Achaeans were is a matter of dispute.

The present tendency is to suppose that Greek may have been spoken in the Balkan Peninsula at a very early date, that it was Achaean kings who built the Beehive Tombs and ruled over the Mycenae which inherited the leadership of Aegean civilization after the fall of Cnossus, the center of Minoan power, in the middle of the second millennium B.C. Homer, that is to say, is describing

WIDER RANGE OF GREEK ACTIVITIES DURING THE AGE OF COLONIZATION

There were two distinct phases of Greek expansion. First there was an unorganized overflow of refugees mingled with homeless adventurers, which was caused by the Dorian Invasion and resulted in the settlements of Asia Minor. Later, in the eighth century B.C., owing to economic causes rather than direct pressure, the over-populous states of the mainland and Asia Minor began to send out organized colonies. This stage is dealt with more fully in Chapter 27, to which these two maps equally refer.

in his epics the civilization of the enlarged Mycenae of the Beehive Tombs and Lion Gate, discussed in Chapter 18.

Other scholars are inclined to doubt whether Greek was spoken by the Mycenaeans when Cnossus fell. The Achaeans they believe to have been invaders from much farther north, who overran the Mycenaean civilization in its later stages. With them they brought Indo-European speech, the Indo-European type of social organization, the practice of burning their dead, and religious beliefs responsible for the different character of the Homeric pantheon from what little we know of the religious system of the Mycenaeans.

But, whichever of these views may be right, the Greece of Homer is very different from the Greece of historical times. Homer's Achaeans are true representatives of the Bronze Age. Again, even if we are right in believing the Achaeans to be northern invaders, they are in closer cultural contact with the great age of Mycenae than were the Greeks of the Iron Age. Further, the armament of the troops before Troy betrays a period of transition. Side by side with the warrior of the north armed with cuirass and parry-shield are fighting heroes protected by the cumbersome 'tower shield' of Aegean chivalry.

In Europe the Greek world of Homer is still an interconnected whole, whereas we find the Greece of post-Homeric times divided, as it were, into compartments in which a parallel development takes place, but one distinguished in different areas by marked local individualities. As regards Asia, the coast lands in Priam's day were not yet in Greek hands. But the movement eastward had begun. In the north, the island of Lemnos was ruled by a son of Jason, the leader of the Argonauts. In the south Achaeans had reached Cyprus, while Dorians had reached East Crete and, apparently, Rhodes.

This last fact may suggest that the great movement which was to shatter the Achaean civilization had already begun. The Trojan War may well have hastened the catastrophe. If the expedition was crowned with victory, the story of the return is a tale of tragedy.

For our purposes the label of the Dorian Invasion must be used to cover the whole series of connected racial movements, of which the conquest of

the Peloponnese was the last, on the part of a group of peoples, closely allied in speech, of whom the Dorians were one. For the concluding centuries of the second millennium witnessed an invasion of the south of the Balkan Peninsula from the north by peoples whose earlier home had probably been in Illyria. The bronze stabbing swords of the Achaeans were no match for the northerners' cutting swords of iron. Characteristic, too, was the new form of dress which the invaders introduced.

THE CHITON AS WORN BY MEN

In early times, and on ceremonial occasions, Greek men wore a sewn tunic with or without a mantle (left). The Dorian tunic, the same for men as for women (below), was worn short (right) for exercise, and draped over one shoulder by slaves.

British Museum

A rough blanket was folded over along its upper edge, so that the overlap reached roughly from the neck to the waist. It was then wrapped round the body and fastened above each shoulder with large fibulae or safety pins. From this garment the later improved varieties of Greek tunic were all essentially derived. The great brooches, which are very typical of the Iron Age in Greece, continued to be used by the Dorian women of Argos, Sparta, Corinth and Aegina long after the Ionian tunic, which needed no such fastenings, had been adopted at Athens.

Aegimius, it will be remembered, was king in Thessaly when Heracles took service with him. Upon Thessaly inevitably fell the first brunt of the northern invasions. Its plain is more fertile and far larger than any which can be found elsewhere in Greece, and in consequence no land so frequently changed hands in the prehistoric period. The invaders became masters of the whole of the rich central plain. Some of the original inhabitants were reduced to the condition of agricultural serfs and remained on the soil.

EARLIEST FASHIONS FOR WOMEN IN HISTORICAL GREECE

The Dorian chiton, or tunic, was an oblong sheet of woolen cloth measuring rather more than the height of the wearer and about twice the span of her arms. Folded as shown in the diagram on the left, it fell into position about the figure leaving the arms bare (center, from a toilet box). A girdle was usually worn to keep the two edges together. The Ionian chiton (right) was essentially a loosely-fitting dress of fine, almost transparent linen with wide sleeves, and girt at the waist.

British Museum

Many peoples, on the other hand, were ejected.

If Greek tradition is correct, the Boeoti must have represented an early wave of the invaders, who effected a temporary settlement in Thessaly, but were then pushed out by a succeeding wave. Other tribes seem to have been driven west over Pindus to Molossia and the region round the Ambracian Gulf. Others, again, retained a foothold in the hilly circumference of the fertile plain, as, for example, the various inhabitants of the two districts later known as Achaea Phthiotis and Malis.

South of Thessaly the main stream of invasion seems to have flowed down the mountain range of Pindus. In central Greece the district of Doris claimed to be pure Dorian, the mother land of the Dorians of the Peloponnese. Hence the main current swept over Delphi to the shores of the Corinthian Gulf.

Aetolia, to the west of Delphi, enjoys a prominent place in Greek legend. In historical times, on the other hand, Aetolia was notoriously the most backward and uncivilized part of Greece. The remarkable contrast between the Aetolia of legend and the Aetolia of history is perhaps to be explained by these invasions of rude Illyrians.

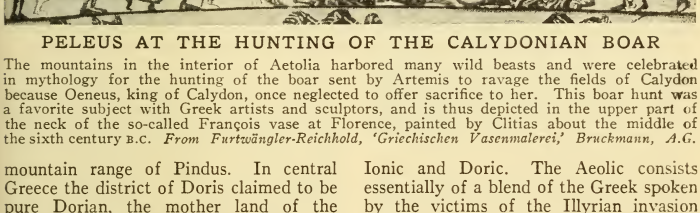
Aetolians sailed with the Dorians and occupied Elis. The story that the name Naupactus preserves a memory of the embarkation of the invaders of the Peloponnese may possibly be true. But it is more probable that independent companies at different times sailed round the Peloponnese to attack Laconia, Argos and Corinth from the sea. It is also probable that some of the Dorians of Crete and the islands similarly effected their settlements by sea from the Gulf of Corinth at this stage.

The movement occupied in all probability a considerable time to run its course and affected a wide area outside the main channel. But the principal stream passed far to the west of Attica, and the Athenians claimed that their land alone in central Greece had remained untouched by invasion. Arcadia in the Peloponnese made similar claims. Here the essential truth of tradition is confirmed by the evidence of the distribution of the Greek dialects.

The Greek dialects are commonly divided into three principal groups, Aeolic, Ionic and Doric. The Aeolic consists essentially of a blend of the Greek spoken by the victims of the Illyrian invasion with a speech of the same family as Doric. Throughout northern and central Greece varieties of Aeolic Greek were spoken, except in one district. Attica alone possessed a different dialect, which is closely related only to Ionic.

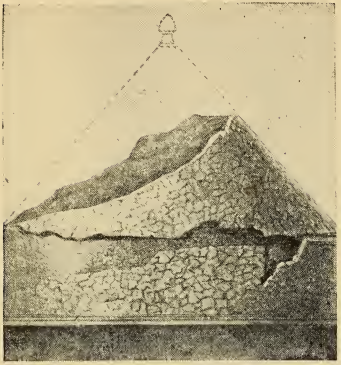
In the areas conquered by the Dorians, Doric naturally prevailed. Arcadian speech, however, is neither Aeolic, Doric nor Ionic, and in fact is unique except for its reappearance in Cyprus. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Arcadian was the pre-Dorian speech of the Peloponnesians, some of whom carried it to Cyprus before the Dorian Invasion.

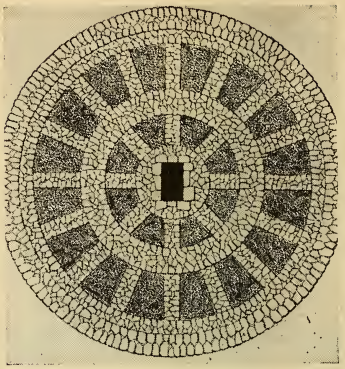
The irruption of northerners into the Balkan Peninsula produced secondary movements of population; for the land of northern and central Greece was no more able than that of the Peloponnese to support a sudden and violent increase of population. Further, an age of violence is not without its psychological effect.



PELEUS AT THE HUNTING OF THE CALYDONIAN BOAR

The mountains in the interior of Aetolia harbored many wild beasts and were celebrated in mythology for the hunting of the boar sent by Artemis to ravage the fields of Calydon because Oeneus, king of Calydon, once neglected to offer sacrifice to her. This boar hunt was a favorite subject with Greek artists and sculptors, and is thus depicted in the upper part of the neck of the so-called François vase at Florence, painted by Clitias about the middle of the sixth century B.C. *From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechischen Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann, A.G.*





MONUMENT OF A LONG LOST CIVILIZATION IN ASIA MINOR

Most notable of the monuments of the pre-Hellenic civilization that existed in the Sipylus region of Asia Minor between the Gulf of Smyrna and the modern Manissa is the so-called Tomb of Tantalus (left). The tumulus formed a perfect circle built of small mortared stones. As shown on the ground plan (right) sixteen radiating walls led from the outer to an inner circular wall and were continued, forming eight partitions, to the central nucleus, walled up in the heart of which was a rectangular mortuary chamber.

From Texier, 'Description de l'Asie Mineure'

Besides dispossessed and desperate refugees in search of new homes, there will also be adventurers whose restless spirit urges them to disdain a life of ease.

The tale which Odysseus concocted to satisfy the curiosity of the faithful swineherd was a fiction, but a fiction plausible enough to deceive Eumaeus. It gives us an authentic sketch of a contemporary type, the rover, whose individual exploits heralded the migrations. "Sackers of cities" the Homeric heroes called themselves, and piracy was their honorable profession.

Towns, for fear of the sea raiders, were everywhere perched upon the hills at a safe distance from the shore. The sea rover would land and send out his men to collect booty and women. The rest of his men he would post on guard to watch for the enemy's concentration and approach, and to cover the retreat of the booty-laden foragers to the ship.

Of the same type as these Homeric "sackers of cities" were the rovers who led the migrations over seas. Migrations they were in the main, not colonizing expeditions like those of a later date, though one such, the colonization of Scheria, occurs in Homer. One should rather think of these early expeditions as being undertaken by mixed companies of adventurers and broken men. Often the rank and file may chiefly have belonged to the conquered races, while the leaders were Dorian.

The displacement of peoples in Thessaly and central Greece was then extended beyond the sea. It has been suggested, and the place-names of East Crete support the hypothesis, that the Dorians of whom Homer seems to know in Crete and Rhodes at the time of the Trojan War had set sail from newly conquered Thessaly. In the main, however, the adventurers and refugees of northern and central Greece followed the route which had been explored before them by the Argonauts. Thus the northern islands and the opposite coast were settled by Aeolians, the main current of migration setting due east, roughly along the same parallel of latitude.

After the conquest of the Peloponnese the similar extension from Argolis and Laconia was directed south and east, and a part of the surplus population under Dorian leadership occupied the southern Cyclades, Crete, Carpathus, Rhodes and the southern corner of the Asiatic coast.

Last came the Ionians, to the central portion; a very mixed people these, for in addition to the Peloponnesian refugees and their Athenian leaders, a considerable element was composed of natives of central Greece.

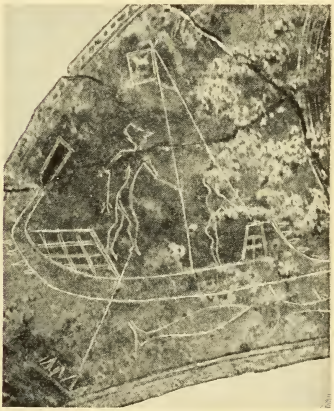
Was it then mere accident that this favored central area was left for occupation by the latest comers? We can hardly think so. Unfortunately the archaeological evidence remains as yet under ground.

A political cause may perhaps explain the apparent shyness of the first comers in seizing the most favored area. Perhaps its very advantages caused it to be held with securer power by a more formidable native civilization, and so to be more difficult of conquest.

The foundation legends with their stories on the one hand of Amazons and on the other of Telchines, magicians and metal workers from Crete, point to the coast as a meeting-place of Late Minoan and Hittite cultures, and there is a strong tradition of the existence of a native civilization, the Caro-Lelegian, in which these two influences may well have been blended.

The Greek foundations immediately connected with the Trojan War lie far afield to the south-east. The west coast of Asia seems to have been firmly held by native powers, until the extensions of the European migrations proved too persistent and too strong for their resistance.

In various ways and in various places the Greeks got the upper hand. At Aeolian Cyme, for instance, we find the first Greek settlers establishing themselves first in a stronghold nearby, at 'The New Fort' (Neon Teichos), which they deserted when they had become sufficiently strong to possess themselves of the town. Often a gradual process of infiltration may have secured the predominance of the Greeks. The settlers were already a people of very diverse origins; perhaps in most cases the settlement involved yet further racial admixture. In the majority of these new centers of Greek civilization the Greek racial element came to form a dominant aristocracy among a numerically superior native population.



YACHTS OF ANCIENT GREECE

Besides quite large merchantmen, the ancient Greeks built graceful little craft such as that figured on this Boeotian fibula. They were single-masted vessels with high stem and stern, small decks fore and aft, and latticed cabins.

British Museum

CONVENTIONAL RELIGIOUS ART

What became a tradition in religious art is exemplified in this geometric potsherd from Boeotia, depicting the Boeotian goddess flanked by two lions. This system of ornamentation by geometric forms was the first creation of Greek art.

From Farnell, 'Cults of the Greek States'

That the Illyrian invasions of the Balkan Peninsula altered the racial and political map of Achaean Greece, we have already noticed. There resulted a break in the continuity of culture, and it is in the Dark Age which followed these racial disturbances that the culture which is properly called Greek was brought to birth. The Dorian Invasion checked the course of civilization in a very real and definite

fashion. Except for shadowy reflections in Greek myth and legend all knowledge of the great civilization of the Bronze Age was lost.

Of the centuries which immediately succeeded the Dorian Invasion we have no historical record. When the darkness lifts again, we find the Greek world that we know, an aggregate of small states. Most of these communities are cut off from their neighbors by mountains and the sea. In consequence they have developed an arrogant consciousness of their respective individualities, which has bred, on the one hand, the characteristic Greek passion for political independence, and, on the other, the corresponding defect of a particularism which was to render impossible any permanent form of political combination larger than the city state.

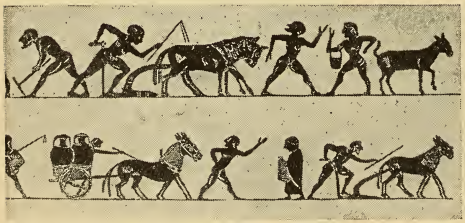
GATHERING IN THE OLIVE HARVEST

Vines and olives brought much more profit to the early Greek agriculturist than did corn. This sixth century black-figured vase shows the primitive, ill-advised method of gathering the olive crop—men and boys brushing the branches with sticks to bring down the fruit which a lad collects into a basket.

British Museum

But though by now the period of invasions was over, there soon existed once more a surplus population which was driven by necessity to adventure overseas, and in a short space of time the carrying trade of the Eastern Mediterranean passed into the hands of the Greeks. This development of commerce afforded some relief to economic pressure, but it was not by itself sufficient. In consequence the eighth and seventh centuries became an epoch of organized emigration, and the shores of the Black Sea and Mediterranean were studded with colonies sent out by the states of mainland Greece and the Greek settlements on the Asiatic coast (see Chap. 27).

The period which followed the Dorian Invasion is often called the Geometric Period from the characteristic decoration



SCENES FROM THE HUMBLE LIFE OF WHICH HESIOD SANG

Hesiod's verbal descriptions of rural life in ancient Greece are supplemented by many vase paintings and reliefs. These strips from a black-figured cup depict two peasants ploughing, one hand holding the plough, the other a goad for the oxen; another peasant plies the mattock, another carries a basket of seed corn, and others are carting away jars of wine or olive oil. The sixth-century figure on the right is of a seated potter modeling clay upon his wheel.

The Louvre and British Museum

of its pottery. Late Mycenaean pottery, in most parts of the Greek world, is suddenly succeeded by a pottery wholly different in character. The decoration upon the later Mycenaean wares is decrepit; artistic tradition has worn itself out. Quite different is the new style of geometric ornamentation. This is crude, angular and rather barbaric, but its shortcomings are those of infancy, not of senility. Its affinities are with the art of central Europe, an additional indication that it was brought into Greece by invaders from the north.

The usual scheme of decoration consisted of a series of horizontal bands of varying width, which consisted of angular geometrical figures arranged in rows—the maeander or key pattern, lozenges, zigzags, etc. The scheme of decoration was then successively improved by the introduction of animal figures, and finally by the depiction of scenes from daily life.

The best specimens of the work of the geometric potters are the vases called Dipylon, because they were found in the cemetery at the Dipylon Gate of Athens. In ancient Greece and Rome the bodies or ashes of the dead might not be buried within the town walls. In consequence, the roads outside the town gates were flanked by rows of graves. Large vases, decorated in the manner we have been discussing, served as sepulchral monuments, and many have holes through which a drink-offering to the dead man in the tomb below could be poured.

The pottery of these vases is excellent as regards technical fabric. Their shapes are well proportioned and have a dignified solidity. Favorite subjects for the decoration are nautical scenes, or the funerals of the great. Objects are represented in a thin, angular, narrative convention. Geometrical ornaments, irrelevant to the theme, are crowded into the field, wherever the design leaves a vacant space. On the other hand the vases show in their broad effects a real sense of symmetry and effective grouping, the promise of greater things when the inspiration of new ideas shall have broken the shackles of this limited convention.

COPPER MINING IN AETOLIA

Early Corinthian pottery included votive clay tablets depicting scenes from workaday life, intended to be hung in shrines. This specimen shows copper miners excavating ore and removing it in baskets, and wine being lowered by ropes.

From Antike Denkmäler

FINE DIPYLON VASE

Geometrical patterns, animals and figure subjects cover the entire surface of this superb Dipylon vase, which is the most richly ornamented specimen extant.

British Museum

In the eighth century Oriental ideas begin markedly to influence the Greek potter's art. Lions, sphinxes and other creations of Eastern fantasy are added to the artist's repertory of design. The lotus and the palmette suggest new patterns of flowing curves. Long training in the severe tradition which had bred the artists of the Dipylon style was too robust to allow Greek potters to become mere feeble imitators. Greek art assimilated, mastered and turned to its own uses what the

more ancient art of the East had to give.

For various reasons the Greeks of Asia rapidly outstripped those of mainland Greece. Up to the middle of the sixth century the center of gravity of Greek civilization was on the Anatolian coast, and Miletus rather than Athens was looked upon as "the school of Hellas."

Some of the reasons for this precocity of the Anatolian Greeks are to be found partly in the conditions of the early settlement and partly in the circumstances of their closer relation to older and more civilized foreign powers. Again, of the

The most frequent pictorial designs on geometric pottery are scenes of daily life, and chiefly those connected with the sepulchral purpose of the Dipylon vase. Here, for example, is a funeral procession, the dead man on his cloth-draped bier placed on the hearse to be driven to the cemetery, and women crowded around with arms upraised in mourning. Note the swastikas above the horses.

Excellence in the drawing and rich polychromy distinguish the so-called Chigi jug, a magnificent example of the proto-Corinthian style of Greek pottery discovered at Veii, in Italy. Among the scenes depicted on it are two armies marching into battle and (top) a chariot and horses and a lion hunt.

DECORATIVE PROGRESS IN GEOMETRIC AND PROTO-CORINTHIAN POTTERY

From Journal of Hellenic Studies and Antike Denkmäler

settlers who sailed from Greece no small proportion belonged not to the barbarian invaders, but to the conquered Achaeans. Memories at least of the old civilization they carried with them, and on the Asiatic side of the Aegean the break with the past was probably not so complete as we have seen it to be on the mainland.

ORIENTAL INFLUENCE ON GREEK ART

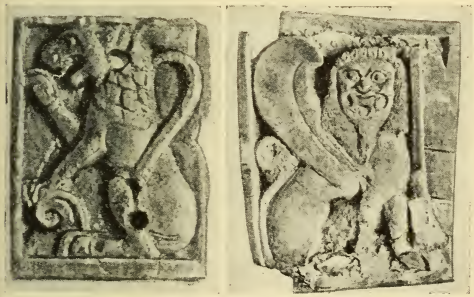
This seventh century ivory relief was found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Its design shows a ship captain bidding farewell to his wife. Note that geometric ornament is almost wholly absent, as compared with the geometric vase opposite.

British School at Athens Annual

The invading Greeks, too, occupied sites which were already inhabited, and the original peoples had already attained a comparatively advanced stage of native civilization. Further, the intermixture of the Greek and native stocks may well have assisted in producing an energetic precocity. Most of the new settlements, too, in general possessed a better climate and a more fertile soil than the states of mainland Greece, together with harbors in no way inferior. These natural advantages enabled the Greeks of Asia to build up more rapidly than those of Europe the material prosperity and surplus wealth which are necessary for cultural advance.

The advantages we have enumerated were shared in some measure by all the states of the Anatolian coast, but in Ionia material prosperity and luxury most rapidly developed and civilization reached its highest pitch.

There remains to be considered the relation of the Greeks of Asia to foreign powers and to the older civilizations. A glance at the map will show Asia Minor to be a bastion thrown forward by Asia towards Europe. The whole forms a natural corridor leading from the east to the west. The commercial advantages of the sites at the seaward end of the river valleys of its western coast are therefore obvious.



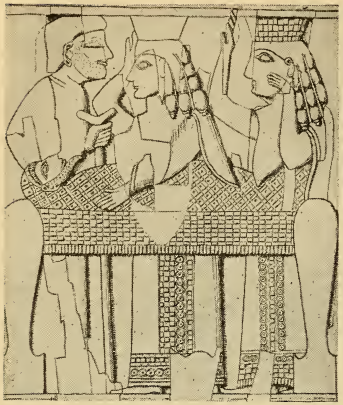
EARLY SPARTAN IVORY PLAQUES

Assyria provided the archetypes on which the early Spartan craftsmen modeled the ivory plaques which they designed to serve as ornaments for the great Dorian brooches of the period and for other purposes. This ivory lion (left) and still more the gryphon (right) breathe the very spirit of eastern phantasy.

British School at Athens Annual

During most of the Bronze Age this great table-land had been dominated by the Hittites, whose capital was at Boghaz Keui on the river Halys. But towards the end of the Bronze Age, the center of Hittite interest had shifted eastwards to Carchemish upon the upper Euphrates. Their hold upon the west had also been shaken by the Thraco-Phrygian thrust from Europe, which brought the Indo-European Phrygians across the Dardanelles to settle in Asia.

This relaxing of the Hittites' hold upon the



GRADUAL BLEND OF EASTERN AND WESTERN ART CONVENTIONS

Traces of the early geometric style of decoration persisted for a considerable time after Asiatic art forms had reached mainland Greece. The method is very apparent in the ivory plaque from Sparta depicting mourners standing beside a corpse laid out on a bier—a funeral scene such as often furnished the subject for the principal zone of the Dipylon vases.

British School at Athens Annual

western part of their empire had enabled Aegean culture in its latest phases at last to get a footing on the coast, and to contribute its share to the Caro-Lelegian civilization, which the Greek settlers found there. The earliest Asiatic power of which Greek historians have preserved traditions is that of Midas, king of Phrygia, who succeeded upon the collapse of Hittite power to the control of their western dominions. Then, in the seventh century, a Lydian usurper, Gyges, overthrew the waning power of Phrygia, and western Asia Minor became a Lydian kingdom.

The attitude of Phrygian and Lydian monarchs seems on the whole to have been phil-Hellenic. The Lydian empire was but loosely organized, and the degree of subjection demanded of the Greek states, which were its dependents rather than its subjects, seems to have been slight.

The Greeks, therefore, were free to make the most of the commercial advantages of their position without any very serious sacrifice of political liberty. In Phrygia and in Lydia they became acquainted with a new standard of luxurious living. From the Euphrates valley the ivories and tapestries of the East were brought through the Cilician Gates and across the table-land to the natural trade-route termini, the sea ports at the mouth of the river valleys. Thus the Greeks came to know at first hand the products of Mesopotamian art.

The influence of objects of art was not the only channel by which oriental influences reached the Greeks of Asia. Commercial intercourse necessarily involves an aggregate of individual personal contacts. With the derivative cultures of Lydia and Phrygia most Ionian merchants must have become personally familiar, and a few must have ventured to the fountain head and have witnessed the wonders of the cities of Mesopotamia.

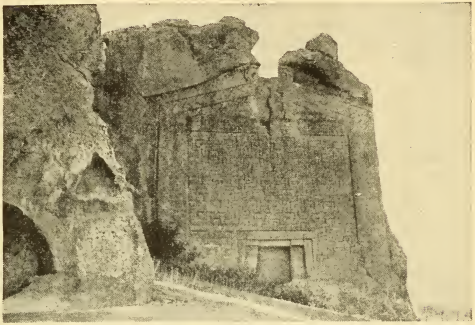
Again, many an adventurous spirit responded to the attraction of mercenary

THE LIONS' ROCK AT AYAZEEN

Notable tomb in the Phrygian necropolis is situated near the village of Ayazeen. Over the lintel of a small doorway pierced in the face of the rock is an obelisk flanked by rampant lions very similar to those on the Lion Gate at Mycenae (see page 371). Beneath each lion a little cub is carved.

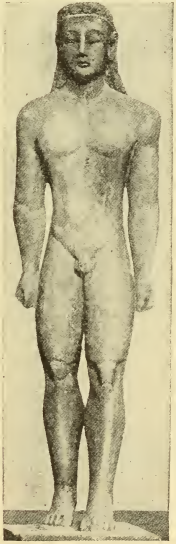
service at an Eastern court. Lydia, of course, employed Greek troops, but Ionians served farther afield than this. Thus at the beginning of the sixth century, the lyric poet Alcaeus writes a congratulatory ode to his brother, who had taken service with the king of Babylon and had been presented by him with a sword of honor.

Earlier, in the middle of the seventh century, when Psammetichus I of Egypt threw off the Assyrian yoke, the backbone of his military forces consisted of Ionian and Carian mercenaries, who remained a permanent corps under his successors. Naukratis was made a chartered port for Greek trade in Egypt, and here the Ionians continued to hold almost a monopoly. From Egypt the Greeks derived the idea of making life-size statues in the round.



THE TOMB OF MIDAS, KING OF PHRYGIA

The most famous monument of the ancient Phrygian Kingdom is the Tomb of Midas, so called because that name appears in the inscription engraved above the gable. It is a rectangular table crowned with a triangular pediment, sculptured on the face of a vertical rock and covered with a maeander pattern.



EGYPTIAN ORIGIN OF GREEK MONUMENTAL STATUARY

Statues such as that of Rameses II at Luxor (left) obviously inspired the art that produced the huge Apollo from Sunium next to it. *Athens Museum*

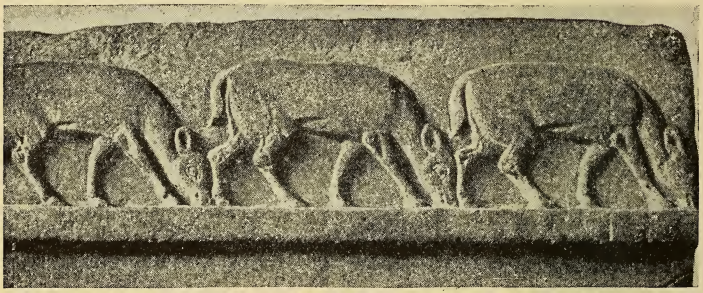
In fact, the ultimate result of the Ionian Migration was to put the achievements of the ancient civilizations at the disposal of the Greek genius. It used what it took as material for its own purposes. Indeed, it was the Greeks, particularly the Greeks of Ionia, who not merely created new forms of artistic expression under the inspiration of oriental art, but by approaching the accumulated results of eastern learning in a new spirit, created what we mean by science.

Egypt had worked out by rule of thumb a practical system of land measurement, the necessity for which had been dictated by the annual inundations of the Nile. This the Ionians made into the science of geometry. Similarly the Mesopotamian civilizations had collected over centuries the results of careful observation of the movements of the heavenly bodies, but it

was the Ionians again who founded upon these data the science of astronomy.

The Ionians took the lead in the development of Greek civilization. Why then did they not retain it? The answer is not difficult. Their geographical circumstances placed them at the mercy of the political power which controlled the hinterland, for the Hermus and Maeander valleys afforded as easy a passage to armies as to the caravans of commerce. The small Greek states of the coast, divided in sentiment and separated from each other by lateral mountain barriers, were not in a position to maintain their independence. Their sole chance of liberty lay in the undisputed control of the sea behind them.

In the middle of the sixth century Persia conquered Asia Minor. At the beginning of the fifth century the Ionians rebelled, and though the terms of settlement imposed after the failure of the revolt were not vindictive, the power of Miletus, "the glory of Ionia," was broken, and a portion of her inhabitants were transported to Ampe on the Red Sea. This unsuccessful bid for freedom had also involved the destruction of the shipping of the maritime states. The Ionian Revolt in fact cleared the way for Athens, at the close of the Persian Wars, to step into the place of Miletus as the premier maritime power in the Greek world and the acknowledged leader of Greek civilization.



ART IN ASIA MINOR: GRAZING DEER ON A LYDIAN BAS-RELIEF

Although the Lydians, one of the principal peoples whom the Greek colonists found in Asia Minor, were accomplished potters and jewelers, they have left few specimens of their sculpture, largely perhaps because in their architecture they mainly used brick. This marble bas-relief from Sardis shows skill but savors of archaism, the figure recalling the rows of animals depicted on Greek archaic vases.

British Museum

EGYPT IN THE BRILLIANCE OF DECAY

HOW SHE REVIVED UNDER THE SAITE PHARAOHS AND INFLUENCED SURROUNDING PEOPLES DOWN TO ROMAN TIMES

By H. R. HALL, D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A.

Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum; Author of The Ancient History of the Near East, etc.

In earlier chapters the great part played by Egypt in the ancient world has been described, and the influence of her culture on the development of other civizations has, from time to time, become apparent. However, it is not perhaps till the period of her decadence that this influence can best be appraised. The cumulative effect of the constant stream of culture-influence that for three thousand years had flowed from the Nile on to the surrounding lands now shows itself. Egypt was one of the permanent states of the ancient world. Her peculiar geographical position, the difficulty of attacking and occupying her, the remarkable idiosyncrasy of her people and their civilization, which made it impossible for a conqueror establishing himself in the Nile valley to deflect the nation from its traditional path, far less to destroy or to absorb it into his own people, maintained her isolation. At the same time Egypt influenced all who came into contact with her.

Egypt still retains her characteristic isolation, and but for the difference of language and religion a reincarnated Egyptian of the time of Khufu would find himself amid surroundings perfectly familiar, with little to tell him that five thousand years had elapsed.

Of no other nation can this be said except possibly, to some extent, of China. and China is not so old as Egypt by two thousand years. Like China, though with much greater difficulty for the attacker, Egypt has been conquered and occupied by foreigners from time to time, and, like her, has known how to absorb the conqueror. All China's conquerors settled in the country; it was impossible to hold China without doing so. The different geographical conditions of Egypt

NUBIAN CULTURE EGYPTIANIZED

Although alien conquerors, the Nubian pharaohs of the Twenty-fifth dynasty held to Egyptian custom: thus, the funerary figure of the negroid Taharka (right: reigned 689-886 B.C.) is of conventional type, as is that of Aspalta, king of Ethiopia c. 561 B.C., from Gebel Barkal.

Mus. of Fine Arts, Boston, and courtesy of Professor Reisner

PYRAMIDS THAT COMMEMORATE THE PROSPERITY OF NUBIA

Even when Nubia was independent of Egypt and was administered from Meroë, the capital of southern Ethiopia, its civilization seems to have remained predominantly Egyptian. Its kings and notables, for example, were buried beneath pyramids which, though small and usually of perishable materials, were plainly erected in emulation of the great tombs of the pharaohs; above we see the typical, steep-sided pyramids of the northern and southern cemeteries at Meroë.

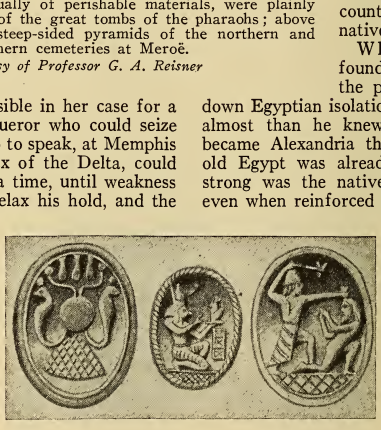
Courtesy of Professor G. A. Reisner

have made this possible in her case for a time only. A conqueror who could seize her by the throat, so to speak, at Memphis (Cairo), at the apex of the Delta, could hold her down for a time, until weakness compelled him to relax his hold, and the native race could rise in revolt and expel him.

This happened in the cases of the Hyksos, the Assyrians and the Persians. The Roman domination was different. It was exercised really through the Greeks settled in the country for centuries and so mixed with the natives that the Graeco-Egyptian people of the towns, did not feel themselves under any foreign domination at all. Rome was expelled finally by a fortuitous and sudden new Persian attack, the effect of which vanished in a very few years before the final conquest by the Arabs of Mahomet, who succeeded after many centuries in effecting what no other conquerors had ever been able to do—a change of the language of the people to their own.

This happened only because Christianity had already made the great change of Egyptian religion. And having changed her religion once, Egypt now did it again, but not so completely, becoming predominantly, but not wholly, Moslem. Such revolutionary changes would not have been possible in earlier days. They were possible now only on account of the decay of the native civilization.

When Alexander founded Alexandria with the purpose of breaking down Egyptian isolation he builded better almost than he knew. When Rhakotis became Alexandria the death-warrant of old Egypt was already signed. But so strong was the native individuality that even when reinforced by the authority of Rome the Hellenic leaven took many centuries to work effectively. And so long as the old native religion survived Egyptian civilization remained Egyptian, albeit deformed and contaminated by foreign ideas in a way unthinkable before the coming of Alexander. But when Christianity triumphed under a Christianized Rome, Egypt suffered a change unprecedented in her history.



EGYPTIAN ART AT SECOND HAND

Found in Sardinia, these scarabs are of Phoenician manufacture; but their designs—a sun disk between two uraei, a kneeling figure of Thoth and a conventional representation of a warrior smiting his foe are patently derived from Egypt.

From Rawlinson, History of Phoenicia

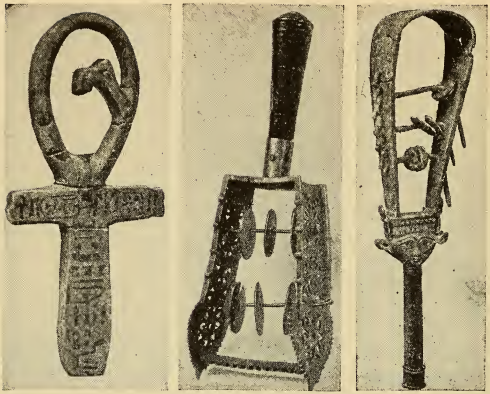
Changed though they were in language and religion, however, the Egyptians remained yet the same in fundamentals.

The individuality of the nation continued and continues, and if, as seems possible, the modern religious link with the neighboring Asiatic nations weakens, it will tend to reassert itself. Egypt will always be Egypt. While remaining herself, however, she will now never influence others as she did in the ancient

REVERENCE SHOWN BY A NUBIAN MONARCH FOR AN EGYPTIAN GOD

The worship of the gods of Egypt together with native deities throughout Nubia indicates the extent to which the younger civilization was permeated by Egyptian ideas. At Napata the great temple of Amen, whose impressive ruins are shown here, was first built by Egyptian administrators of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when Nubia was a colonial province of Egypt; but it was rebuilt by the Ethiopian king Piankhi, when Nubia was not only independent but dominant over most of Egypt.

Courtesy of Professor G. A. Reisner



USED IN ANCIENT AND MODERN RITUAL

The externals of Egyptian religion were freely adopted by the Nubians—we have (left), for example, a conventional 'ankh,' the symbol of life, dedicated by Taharka. And the rattle (center) used to-day in Christian services in Abyssinia was derived, through the Nubians, from the Egyptian sistrum (right).

British Museum

days of her complete cultural independence. Only at one or two moments of the Moslem dominance, has she influenced others greatly since Alexander's time, and then only because she was for a time strong and conquering. In modern times only under Mehemet Ali, has she conquered for a moment, but no superior civilizing influence accompanied this burst of activity, due to no Egyptian but to an ambitious Albanian Turk.

We must go back to the days before Alexander to see Egypt exercising real influence over the civilization of others. This influence reached its height in the centuries immediately preceding the conquest of Alexander, when the seeds of decay had already been sown, to bear fruit under the later Greeks and Romans. It was the brilliance of decadence that made the cumulative influence of Egypt so great a cultural power under the Saite Pharaohs. She impressed Greece because she was old and Greece was young. The re-born Greeks who knew her again under the Saites deemed themselves but a few generations removed from the gods, while the priest of Thebes could tell Hecataeus that he could trace the list of his predecessors back for three hundred and forty-five generations (an enormous exaggeration, of course). The Greeks had no continuity with the past, or none that they realized. They were deeply impressed by that antiquity of Egypt in which the Egyptians themselves now took an almost senile pride.

PRINCE'S SEAL

Egyptian phraseology is used in this scarab to give the title of Yanet, Phoenician prince of Byblus, c. 2000 B.C.

British Museum

Persia, too, was impressed in her own way, either to the point of Cambyses' berserk rage against the witch-gods of Egypt, or that of Darius's interested care for the preservation of her culture. Babylon alone could stand aloof. As old as Egypt, perhaps older, and with the same continuity with the past, she alone had no need to be impressed. She never had been. Assyria, her child, equally had owed nothing, directly, to Egyptian civilization.

But with Phoenicia it was otherwise. In the beginning of time she had admitted Egyptian influence with an Egyptian political domination that began in the time of the pyramid builders. Her art had always been a clumsy mixture of the arts of the great nations surrounding her, but more especially of that of Egypt. Characteristic Phoenician productions show a mixed art in which Egyptian motives dominate, and when we find Egyptianising objects of art in Assyria, as we do in the famous ivories found at Nimrûd, and now in the British Museum, we know that they are of Phoenician, not

Assyrian, production, and were only exported to Assyria.

We know so little of the material culture of the Israelitish and Judaean kingdoms that it is impossible to say how far it was Egyptianised. Jewish religion undoubtedly had borrowed from Egypt many externals, such as the Ark of the Covenant. And the Golden Calf and Brazen Serpent were Egyptian deities; the one being simply Hathor, the cow goddess, and the other possibly the Delta goddess Buto, the snake Uazit. Egyptian influence on Israel had no doubt been considerable at the time of the expulsion of the Hyksos, who had lived for many generations in Egypt, and had certainly imbibed much Egyptian culture.

Under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, when Egypt held Palestine, Egyptian influence must have been great. And under the Saites, when Psammetichus and Necho ruled, there is little doubt that it was dominant. Yet we find but few traces of it. The ancient Jews were apparently an inartistic race. Puritans never show much liking for the arts of civilization, and those of the Jews who were not Puritans could merely imitate, more feebly even than the Phoenicians, such things as the cult-images of the far more highly civilized nations around them.

ELABORATE ORNAMENTATION BELOVED OF THE POTTERS OF NAUKRATIS

Earthenware utensils were manufactured in large quantities at Naukratis, the great Greek trading depot on the Nile, and exported to Greece and Italy. The Naukratite artificers were not affected by their environment: the decoration on their vessels, though orientalized, is not Egyptian but borrowed from Rhodes, another center of the pottery industry. That they were highly skilled is demonstrated by this beautiful specimen of their work, adorned with typical friezes of conventionalized animals.

British Museum

INSULAR SPIRIT IN PAINTING

The craftsmen of Cyprus were extraordinarily faithful to local traditions. Hence, while the general effect of this animated vase painting is reminiscent of Assyrian work, the execution and most of the details are undoubtedly Cypriote.

British Museum

On the other side Egyptian influence found no ground to develop. The Sahara was no site for culture and none seems to have arisen on the unpromising coast till the Greeks came to Cyrene in the eighth century B.C. The Libyans were barbarians in comparison even with the Palestinians. These barbarians seem to have entered Egypt after the expulsion of the Hyksos, apparently in peaceful wise. Under the Nineteenth Dynasty the pharaohs, who now lived in the Delta, apparently expelled them, but only for a time. By the Twenty-first Dynasty they were a power in the land farther south than the Delta; in the Twenty-second Dynasty they gave a royal house to Egypt. They were then Egyptianized. When the Greeks settled in Cyrene they soon found that they could not escape the ambit of Egypt; Egyptian ideas were powerful in the African colony; and Cy-

rene and Barka served as means of communication between the new Greece and Egypt hardly less than the treaty-ports Naukratis and Daphnae.

To the south, the lands of the Ethiopians and negroes had been Egyptian colonies, slave-raiding grounds and goldfields from the time of the Old Kingdom. By Saite days Egyptian influence had brought about the existence of an independent but derived native Nubian culture, strongly Egyptian, using to write its native language a script developed from the Egyptian, worshipping Egyptian gods beside its own, and burying its kings in pyramids.

MASTERPIECE OF MOCK-HEROIC PAINTING

The Ionian manufacturers of so-called 'Caeretan' ware not only derived part of their technique from the Naukratite potters, but often show intimacy with Egypt. Thus, although caricatures, the Egyptians in this humorous painting of Heracles slaying the Pharaoh 'Busiris' and his followers are admirable. The Pharaoh (lying on his nose!) wears the uraeus crown.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'

This remarkable colonial derivation from Egypt remained true to old Egyptian ideas longer than Egypt itself, and long formed a southern barrier impassable first to Christianity and then later, when it had accepted Christianity, to Islam. In Abyssinia it subsists, mingled with South Arabian elements, and with languages of South Arabian Semitic origin, as an island of ancient Christianity to this day.

The Egyptian influence that percolated southward into Africa from the earliest days undoubtedly affected the civilization of the native tribes; and is it a fantasy if we see traces of it among the Bahima of Uganda at this day?

I have said that the effect of Egyptian culture on the surrounding nations in the days of Saite decadence was cumulative. The Egyptian leaven had been working for three thousand years, till in the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries B.C. it profoundly modified the renascent art of Greece, and so strongly restamped its impress on Phoenicia that all nations who received Phoenician goods received also Egyptian art at second hand.

We find Egypt in relation with the surrounding nations at the very beginning of her history, in spite of her isolation. Their Delta-folk were excellent seamen, as they proved at Salamis, and seven centuries before, when they navigated the ships of Rameses III to battle with the Philistines in the marshes of Lake Serbonis. They regularly navigated the Red Sea and the Mediterranean from the earliest times; they had established a colony at Byblus in Phoenicia long before 3000 B.C., and they habitually voyaged to the land of Punt, and, for aught we know, even farther.

Again, the Egyptians were from the earliest days great land-travellers; they took caravans through Libya into central Africa in the time of the Sixth Dynasty (c. 2600 B.C.) and no doubt before. Their Mediterranean sea-activity brought them into contact with the Early Minoan tribes of Crete and the Aegean, who may not impossibly in great part have come originally from Egypt and Libya; they were probably racially akin to the Nilotes and Libyans, who were no doubt closely related, though very early immigration from Syria and farther north rapidly differentiated the Egyptians from the Libyans. To the coming of the "dynastic Egyptians," was due, it would seem, the development of civilization that brought about the founding of the Pharaonic kingdom c. 3400 B.C. These people brought the seeds of civilization from Syria, which may have been the focus from which Babylon also derived her culture.

The establishment of the kingdom was followed by over-seas activity. We find proof of strong Egyptian influence in Crete from predynastic Egyptian days to

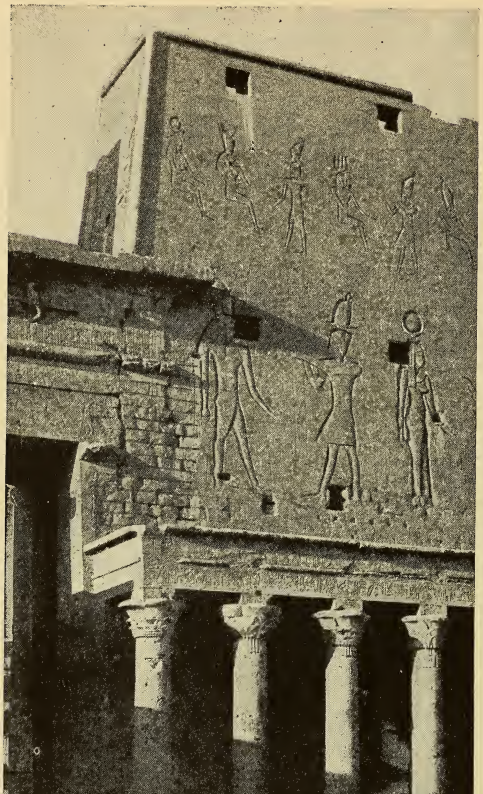
the Sixth Dynasty (second Early Minoan period). Then under the Twelfth Dynasty (Middle Minoan I and II, c. 2000 B.C.) Egyptian influence is even stronger, but now skilfully adapted by the Minoans. Under the Thirteenth (Middle Minoan III) Crete has reached her apogee in fact under the Eighteenth Dynasty (Late Minoan I and II, c. 1600-1350 B.C.) she has much to teach the Egyptian artists. Then comes the decadence of the Late Minoan III culture, and then the catastrophe. Egypt is attacked by sea-rovers; she loses all connection with and knowledge of the now barbarized Greece till, in the time of the Saites, Hellas raises herself again with Egyptian help.

In Phoenicia we see the colony at Byblus with its Egyptian gods and Egyptian temples at least as early as the days of Sneferu, c. 2900 B.C. Byblus had its place in Egyptian religion: it was there that the body of Osiris was washed up and coffined in a wooden chest. Sneferu sent ships to Byblus for the cedar and pine wood of Lebanon; and this commerce continued throughout the ages. Under the Middle Kingdom it was specially note-

TANGIBLE SYMBOLS OF THE RENEWED PROSPERITY OF EGYPT

The richness of objects used or funerary purposes affords some indication as to the wealth of Egypt during the reigns following upon that of Psammetichus I (663-609 B.C.). 'Ushabti' figures (four are shown above) were less natural than those of a thousand years earlier, but more finally carved and more carefully finished. Coffins show marvelous workmanship; the example (center) with gilded face is covered with figures and texts minutely painted; the interior of the other is lavishly adorned.

British Museum



WEALTH OF THE PHARAOHS DEVOTED TO SPLENDID TEMPLE BUILDING

Under strong despots like the kings of the Twenty-sixth and Ptolemaic Dynasties, the wealth of Egypt was immensely increased; and this national prosperity was reflected in the growing magnificence of public buildings devoted to religious purposes. Remarkable for the richness of its architectural style is the temple of Horus at Edfu, built by successive Ptolemies between 237 and 57 B.C.: above we see a corner of its great court and the west pylon, with reliefs of deities and pharaohs.

Photo, Donald McLeish

worthy, for it was from the Lebanon that the Egyptians got the great timbers they used for the large rectangular wooden coffins of the time. The princes of Byblus under the Twelfth Dynasty, who were natives, must have derived considerable revenues from this trade; they were buried in great state in the regular Egyptian style of the Middle Kingdom. This connection with Byblus, and through it with Phoenicia, continued down the ages.

Under the Eighteenth Dynasty we find the Phoenician cities, traditionally loyal to Egypt, used as the local base of the Egyptian sea power when Thothmes III, wishing to subdue northern Syria, and shrinking from the difficult march through Palestine, transferred his base to Phoenician Simyra, and brought his troops thither by sea; so far as we know the earliest example of the influence of sea power in history. At the end of the dynasty we hear of the betrayal of Phoenician loyalty by Akhnaton to the greed of Subbiluliuma, king of the Hittites. Egypt lost her position in Phoenicia for many centuries. Seti I and Rameses II could restore her supremacy in southern Palestine; but Phoenicia was lost, and under the Twentieth Dynasty it was evident that Egypt had paid the price of the treachery of the "criminal of Akhetaton" in total loss of her oversea dominion and prestige.

It was not till the time of Psammetichus I and the Saites that this position was in some measure restored. Though first Assyrian and then Babylonian

opposition put an end to Egyptian political control culturally Egypt was supreme again. And it was no doubt to mark this re-establishment of the ancient religious and artistic relations that in the year 593 B.C. king Psammetichus II undertook a solemn pilgrimage to Byblus.

Cyprus in the fifteenth century B.C., before the reign of Amenhotep III in Egypt, had received the Minoan culture. It had retained a debased form of this culture very late, including its script, which it had modified to express the sounds of the Greek language brought by the Arcadian invaders of two or three centuries later than the Mycenaean invasion. We have no proof that the Mycenaeans, any more than the Minoans, spoke Greek; the Achaeans were, it is arguable, the first Greek speakers in Greece. The Greek element in Cyprus was strong, and the Phoenicians were never able to gain much foothold in the island.

When Assyria dominated Phoenicia, Sargon the king in 709 B.C. received the submission of the Greek and Phoenician dynasts of Cyprus. Later Amasis II of Egypt signalized his accession by the conquest of Cyprus which from c. 565 to 525 B.C. followed exclusively in the wake of Egypt, until the Persian conquest gave her another orientation. The effect of Egyptian control is clearly seen in the Cypriote art of the time.

EXQUISITELY MODELLED CHARM

The extraordinarily delicate craftsmanship of the Saite artists is perhaps nowhere better exhibited than in the jewelry which they produced. The miniature falcon seen here in two aspects is a masterpiece in gold and silver inlay-work.

Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo

The Greeks came anew into the orbit of Egypt first by the establishment of the Cyrenaic colony and then by the foundation of Naukratis. The establishment of the pan-Hellenic treaty-port on the western arm of the Nile was partly due to the nearness of Cyrene, partly to the fact that close by was Sais, the home town of the existing rulers of Egypt, the Psammetichi. Here the Greeks were surer of royal protection, a protection readily extended because the Saite kings, or their deputies, were probably among the chief traders with Greece and to some extent middlemen between the Greek merchants and their subjects. The Pythia recommended the Greek colonists to go to Libya, 'rich in fleeces,' and the sheep of the western Delta, on the Libyan side, provided a great export of wool. And the corn of the Delta and Upper Egypt now again found its way into

DELICACY OF SAITE SCULPTURE

Although Saite art, based upon the ideals of the remote past, is naturally archaic in spirit, it is distinguished by its harmonious refinement and precision. The delicately and vividly carved figures of musicians on this limestone relief from a grave at Memphis also show signs of nascent Greek influence.

Alexandria Museum

Greek shipholds by the royal route of Sais and Naukratis, as did also the Delta olives and wines.

The position of the royal city on the north-western border of Egypt was due to the Libyan origin of the royal family. We have seen that after the expulsion of the Hyksos, c. 1580 B.C., the north-western nomes of the Delta seem to have been depopulated and occupied by Libyan settlers. Under the Nineteenth Dynasty, the fall of the Minoan or Bronze Age civilization of Greece and the movements of populations that followed it, brought to the coasts of Libya and Egypt marauding sea-tribes who made common cause with the Libyans and sought to conquer the central and eastern Delta. The Egyptians, whose Nineteenth Dynasty (the first Ramesid) sprang from the north-eastern Delta, where Tanis was their capital, were now more interested in the affairs of the Delta. They repelled the invaders, but the Libyans remained in the land, and some of their noble warrior-families seem to have been given fiefs even in the Upper Country south of Memphis, where Hininsu or Hnes (the modern Ahnas or Ehnasya, Greek Heracleopolis) became the great center. They were known as the 'Great chiefs of Ma,' a shortened form of their national name Mashauasha or Meshwesh, the 'Maxyes' of the Greeks. Though Egyptianized, they maintained certain of their national peculiarities, including their Libyan names.

TRIUMPHS OF PORTRAITURE IN STONE

Although they would seem to have been preoccupied with decorative art, Saite and Ptolemaic sculptors were capable of powerful realistic work. The most conscientious fidelity to nature makes these studies of a complacent prince and an elderly Ptolemaic priest, pre-eminent examples of Egyptian portraiture.

British Museum and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

At the end of the division of Egypt between the priest-kings of Thebes (Twenty-first Dynasty) and the more legitimate descendants of the Ramesid kings who ruled at Tanis, a Libyan family of the Ma, who had intermarried with the Theban family, assumed the royal power, founding the Twenty-second Dynasty under Shashank (Shishak I), c. 947 B.C. The kings henceforth up to and except Amasis were of Libyan blood. In the seventh century the most powerful princely family of the Delta was that of the Libyans of Sais. Niku, their head, was the chief man in Egypt at the time of the Assyrian conquest in 663. Niku and his son Psammetichus ruled Egypt as Assyrian viceroys till the gradual weakening of Assyrian control enabled Psammetichus to become independent king of Egypt.

He was now the richest and most powerful of earthly monarchs, and after the fall in 612 of Nineveh seemed to be without any rival. This primacy the defeat of the Pharaoh Necho (Niku) at Carchemish in 604 by Nebuchadrezzar was soon to challenge. But Nebuchadrezzar never attacked Egypt. Necho, Psammetichus II and Uahibra (the Hophra of the Hebrews and Apries of the Greeks), ruled in magnificent state as pharaohs of a resuscitated Egypt whose glory seemed to rival that of ancient days.

Phoenicia still preferred Egypt to Babylon as overlord, and attempts were made to revive Egyptian authority there and in southern Palestine, but were foiled by Babylon. Then in 538 Babylon was taken by Cyrus, and Egypt was too deeply concerned by the possibility of Persian attack to provoke it by stirring up antagonism to Persia. Her turn came in 525, after the death of Amasis, when Cambyses conquered her. The Assyrians had been concerned merely to keep Egypt weak in the interest of their own power

in western Asia; they had not attempted to annex her to their empire, as the Persians did. This was really a subjection to foreigners more complete than any Egypt had previously experienced.

This conquest brought to an end the Saite independence, but the characteristic Saite culture continued. For, though the Saite kings could not impose their rule on Asia, Egypt under their rule was such a hive of wealth, industry and artistic production that her cultural influence then attained a development greater perhaps than at any former period. It was the culmination of the process that had begun even before the days of the pyramid builders. Egypt had never absolutely Egyptianized any culture-folk besides the uncivilized Ethiopians and the Libyans settled in Egypt. The Phoenicians, though they adopted Egyptian artistic motives and even some traits of Egyptian religion, remained Phoenicians. And in the case of the other Asiatics in direct contact with Egypt, this was more definitely so. But the influence of Egyptian civilization is at all periods clearly visible among them, and never more than now.

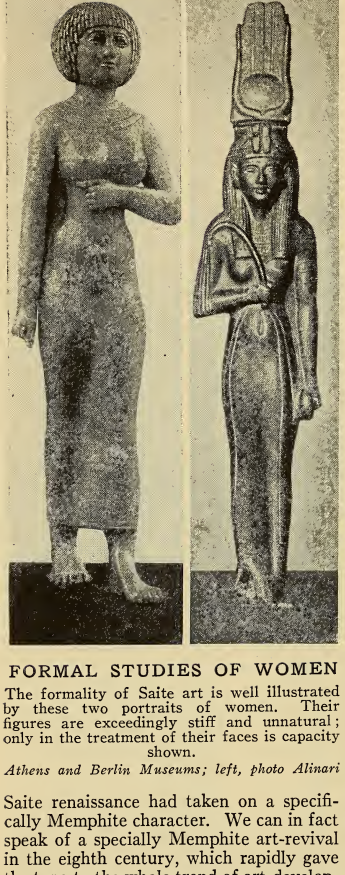
Egypt was now again the wealthiest country in the world, although no tribute from Asia filled her coffers. Her wealth then, as now, was derived from her agriculture, supplemented by the gold of Nubia and reached its height under the Ptolemies. All neighboring nations now looked to this resuscitated Egypt of the decadence as the chief abode of wealth, amenity and art.

The art of the Saites, being due to a renaissance, is sharply differentiated from that of the former period. Then all culture and art were of a special Theban character. Now, when the national center of gravity had shifted back to the north, even before the actual destruction of Thebes by the Assyrians, the art of the

STUDIED REALISM AND ARCHAIC CONVENTION NICELY COMBINED

As in their reliefs so also in their statuary the Saite sculptors copied ancient forms in their own peculiar fashion. Hence they succeeded in giving their works a strength which no incidental element of affectation could impair. The archaism of the central figure does not prevent it from being vigorous nor detract from its effectiveness and value as a portrait: the fine torso, indeed, bears comparison in the quality of its modeling with any similar study.

British Museum



FORMAL STUDIES OF WOMEN

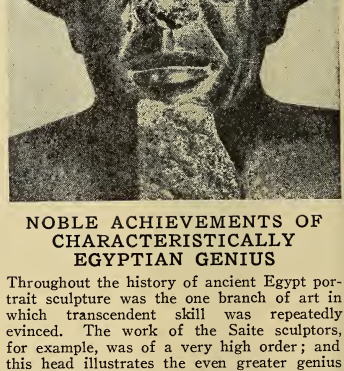
The formality of Saite art is well illustrated by these two portraits of women. Their figures are exceedingly stiff and unnatural; only in the treatment of their faces is capacity shown.

Athens and Berlin Museums; left, photo Alinari

Saite renaissance had taken on a specifically Memphite character. We can in fact speak of a specially Memphite art-revival in the eighth century, which rapidly gave the tone to the whole trend of art-development in the resuscitated states. The chief characteristic of this revival was a harking back to the art ideals of the ancient days of Memphis and the pyramid builders. The art of the Theban imperial age was discredited, and men looked to the archaic monuments of the Old Kingdom, which they saw all around them at Memphis, for inspiration and guidance.

Conscious imitation of the art of the Old Kingdom went so far that statues were often made in exact imitation of the style of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. But more often the archaic influence shows itself in a modification of ancient models. Indeed, in some branches of small art the archaistic influence is invisible, and the Ramesid tradition is followed. In others the Saite artist has been contented with Twelfth Dynasty prototypes to imitate. We see this in scarabs, which did not exist under the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Here the Twelfth Dynasty often supplied ancient models, though the Saite scarab-maker also evolved a new delicate style of his own. This delicacy is characteristic of Saite art, and is emphasised under the later pre-Ptolemaic native dynasties, the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth.

With the establishment of the rule of Psammetichus I at Thebes, about 650 B.C., archaism was adopted at the southern capital, now rising into a religious center



NOBLE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHARACTERISTICALLY EGYPTIAN GENIUS

Throughout the history of ancient Egypt portrait sculpture was the one branch of art in which transcendent skill was repeatedly evinced. The work of the Saite sculptors, for example, was of a very high order; and this head illustrates the even greater genius of Theban artists under the preceding Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Prince Montemhet is here represented with uncompromising sincerity.

Cairo Museum

of the first importance again. We see it in the tombs of the Theban grandees of the time, which are often adorned with reliefs impossible to tell from those of the Pyramid Age but by this quality of delicacy in execution.

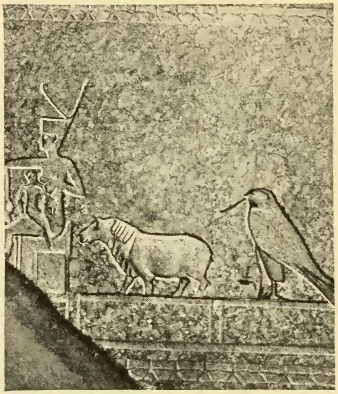
Interest in archaeology was keen, but only in that of the Old Kingdom. When Herodotus's priestly informants instructed him in Egyptian history, they gave him a sketch which exalted the importance of a Khufu (Cheops) and a Khafra (Chephren), and ignored a Thothmes and a Rameses. Only of Rameses III (Rhampsinitus) did Herodotus know, and that through a folk-tale. No proof can be more definite of the curious way in which the Saite Egyptians set themselves to ignore the Thebans on whose polity and art they had turned their backs.

The outward state of the Saites also took after ancient Memphite models. Not only ancient names, but Old Kingdom titles of dignity and Old Kingdom priesthoods were revived. Such archaism was a mark of decadence. It meant a certain artificiality and a lack of originality. The only thing characteristic of Saite art that we can deem really natural to the time is the quality of delicacy of which we have spoken. And this, too, is a mark of decadence. It was the brilliance of decay.

Yet we must not depreciate Saite art unduly. It is often very beautiful. One of the great characteristics of Egyptian art was always its power of personal portraiture. We see this at its best under the Fourth, the Twelfth and the Eighteenth Dynasties. The tradition persisted from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-second, and was revived in the eighth century. These splendid portraits, giving every characteristic of the sitters' faces, continued to be made till the end of the sixth century or later. And we must not depreciate the remarkable powers of the Saite sculptors in cutting hard stones. The old Thebans produced beautiful results in soft limestone, the Saites in basalt. And the delicacy with which their sculpture in basalt was achieved is incredible.

It was to this later art of Egypt that the "archaic" Greeks of the eighth to the sixth century were introduced. When they visited Naukratis and, later, the Greek settlement of Daphnae, or Tahpanhes, they came into contact with an art that took direct inspiration from that of days before even the art of the Minoans was born.

This art could represent men exactly as they were in life, and could use its



BAS-RELIEFS CUT WITH AMAZING DELICACY FROM UNYIELDING GRANITE

The refinement of Saite and post-Saite carving is astonishing when we realize that the artists usually worked in basalt, which is very much harder than the limestone in which their ancient Theban models were wrought. In this delicate relief of the fourth century B.C. we have an example of mastery over granite. While the divine figures are represented strictly according to type, the treatment of the hippopotamus of Smeti and the hawk of Horus suggests observation of nature.
British Museum

materials in a way of which no Greek then had the slightest idea. Tales of these wonders brought back to Greece brought not only philosophers to Egypt, but also artists, eager to copy and learn as they. We need not doubt the stories of direct Egyptian inspiration in the work of some of the earliest Greek sculptors of the new age, or that the first Greek makers of bronze statues learnt their craft in Egypt. The Greek statues and reliefs of the seventh and early sixth centuries are undoubtedly inspired by Saite models. Clumsy though they may be at first, the well known Apollo statues, and friezes of

victors in the games are simply imitative adaptations of Egyptian statues of the Saite period. And in early reliefs we see less unequivocal but still recognizable traces of Egyptian and specifically Saite influence. Small bronze figures follow the same Egyptian model as the larger ones of stone, and the technique of bronze working, lost during the dark age following the Mycenaean, may well have been relearnt by the Greeks in Egypt.

One characteristic of these Greek figures is sometimes set down to Egyptian influence, because it is also found in Saite figures. That is the well-known "archaic smile." But the archaic smile in Egypt is a characteristic only of later Saite art: of the sixth century, and probably the latter half of the sixth century, not of the seventh. And it persisted in Egypt down to the Ptolemaic period and the third century, whereas in Greece it disappeared at the beginning of the fifth, having begun with the earliest classical Greek statuary in the seventh. I unhesitatingly therefore regard it as a trait of Greek origin in Egyptian art, adopted deliberately by Egyptian sculptors in the second half of the sixth century in imitation of archaic Greek art. It may be that the introduction of this Greek convention (due in the first place to unskillfulness) was a result of the conquest of Cyprus by Amasis.

Realistic portraiture seemingly began now to go out of fashion; and these simpering faces came in to persist till the days of the Ptolemies, whereas the Greeks dropped them as soon as they knew better.

This is the first instance of the return influence of Greek art on Egyptian, which, after the Greeks in the fifth century had become the foremost sculptors of all time, became more and more marked, till at the end of the native monarchy and the beginning of that of the Ptolemies, we find most engaging and quaint examples of Greek influence on tomb reliefs; in fact, what is becoming already a mixed Graeco-Egyptian art. Under the Ptolemies the mixed art came into full being, and we see its deplorable results in Roman Egypt, in those terrible composts which in the eighteenth and even well on into the nineteenth century were regarded as typically Egyptian.

INSCRUTABLE 'PTOLEMAIC' SMILE THAT BECAME AN ARTISTIC CONVENTION

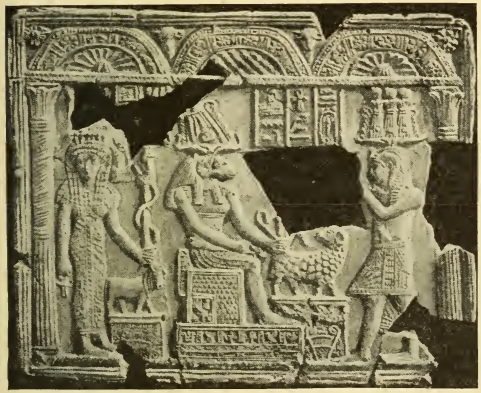
Towards the end of the Saite period sculptors were no longer conscientious in their characterization, and a type was evolved in which the features were regular and the mouth curved in an enigmatic smile. An excellent example of this standardized expression is seen in the face of the statue shown here.

British Museum

The Egyptian occupation of Cyprus (c. 565-525 B.C.) resulted in a considerable introduction of Egyptian art-forms into the island; and more than in any other part of Greece we find direct imitations of Saite art, even to Egyptian details of costume, coiffure, etc.

Some Asiatic influence through Phoenicia is also visible in Cypriote sculpture, but not much. Bearded heads that have been taken to be Assyrian are in reality Greek, even to the absence of the moustache, which the Greeks often shaved, but the Assyrians and other Asiatics always wore.

Considerable resemblance can be traced between the products of Egyptianizing art in Cyprus and the Egyptian and semi-Egyptian productions of Naukratis. There the Egyptian art of making objects in faïence (glaze-ware) was exercised by Greek potters, with characteristic results which are readily distinguishable from native Egyptian works of art of the time, but not always so easily to be distinguished from similar things of Phoenician origin. The earlier Egyptianizing objects of this kind found at Kameiros (Camirus) in Rhodes, for instance, must be of Phoenician, not Naukratite workmanship, though they look very like Naukratite



DEGENERATE ROMANO-EGYPTIAN ART

Under the Ptolemies classical ideas had a marked influence upon Egyptian art, eventually producing an individual but degenerate style. It was florid and affected in character, as is demonstrated by this relief, of the period of Roman domination, representing a Caesar before Khnum and Hathor.

Hildesheim Museum

CYPRIOTE WORK

Egyptian influences are clearly seen in this limestone statue from Cyprus, particularly in the dress and coiffure.

From Perrot and Chipiez

EARLY MASTERPIECE OF IVORY CARVING FROM CYPRUS

This ivory draughts-box, of which a side panel is reproduced here, was found at Enkomi, in Cyprus, and dates from about 1100 B.C. It is not of pure Minoan-Cypriote style and is in all probability the work of a Phoenician carver of the best type. The fleeing stags and the straining hounds show much of the animation and truthfulness to life that distinguish the best animal studies of the Assyrian sculptors.

British Museum

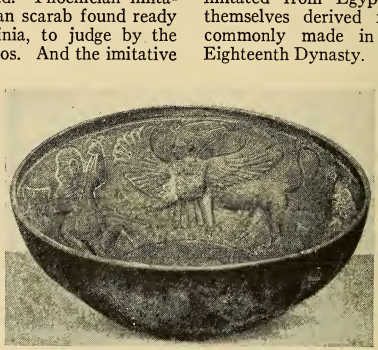
products. We cannot, however, claim anything as Naukratite before, at earliest, the middle of the seventh century. On the whole the Naukratite work is truer to Egyptian models than the Phoenician. The Naukratite objects are mostly of faïence; the Phoenician of all materials.

Naukratite or Phoenician, these imitation Egyptian objects, whether of faïence or of stone, were exported all over the Mediterranean world. Phoenician imitations of the Egyptian scarab found ready purchasers in Sardinia, to judge by the discoveries at Tharros. And the imitative type became widely prevalent in Italy and in Greece, where a variety in hard stone persisted as a gem-form with Greek intagli on its base, long after the seal or bead scarab had ceased to be made in Egypt.

The Phoenicians were great ivory carvers. A fine example of their earlier work, probably dating to about 1100 B.C., is perhaps to be seen in the draughts-box from Enkomi in Cyprus, with its carved reliefs of a stag hunt in which a Philistine warrior, with his feathered headdress, takes part; it is now in the British Museum. Work of the ninth and eighth centuries is to be seen among the famous ivories from Nimrûd in Assyria, also in the British Museum. The Phoenicians had returned to their first love, and Egyptian pastiches are characteristic of their art, now as in early days.

There is very little in it that can be considered native Phoenician. When it is not Egyptian it is Assyrian, or rather Syro-Mesopotamian in inspiration, with an occasional touch of the old Syro-Hittite style, that survived at Carchemish till the eighth century. And these pastiches are not made to agree or blend with one another; we find an Egyptian and an Assyrian scene imitated on the same silver embossed bowl, for instance, without any attempt to connect them in any way. There were apparently stock subjects, with which were adorned Phoenician works of art that were turned out by the gross.

The Phoenicians were in fact the inventors of "mass production." Among the wares found most profitable were, apparently, great silver embossed bowls, imitated from Egyptian Saite patterns themselves derived from similar bowls commonly made in Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty. The assiduous Phoenician imitator, however, combined non-Egyptian with Egyptian scenes. And it is characteristic of the Phoenician indiscriminate imitation that his Egyptian pastiches were often scenes that were in Egypt peculiar to the walls of temples and of tombs. These bowls were extremely popular, especially in Etruria and in Greece.



IMITATIVE COMMERCIAL ART

Assyrian and Egyptian subjects were used indiscriminately by Phoenician artisans. The winged animal and Nilotic solar deity with an oar, from a Nimrûd bronze bowl, are totally unrelated—a design typical of Phoenician lack of originality.

British Museum

I have said that Egyptian art, whether transmitted direct or through the distorting medium of Phoenicia, never had any particular effect upon that of Babylon or Assyria. Although genuine Egyptian objects of the Saite period are not seldom found in Mesopotamia, they may usually be regarded as the stray possessions of some Egyptian. At Carchemish many Egyptian objects of this time were found; they are demonstrably relics of Necho's garrison. Nothing shows the least Egyptian influence in late Babylonian art. Nor were the Egyptians any more ready to accept Babylonian ideas.

Persia owed her art-tradition to Assyria and Babylon, but already under Darius we see it developing in its own way. And the conquest of Egypt brought Egyptian elements into it. In the ruins of Persepolis Saite Egyptian architectural forms and

motives are employed. And in Egypt we see Darius putting up a bilingual monument on which a somewhat Egyptianized Persian art appears side by side with the purest Egyptian style. The Achaemenids were tolerant of foreign religions and foreign arts, and as Egyptian physicians and soothsayers were prominent at the court of Susa, so also no doubt were Egyptian artists, in the fifth and fourth centuries. At any rate, the Persians appear to have been more susceptible to Egyptian than to Greek artistic impulses.

So we find the Egyptian art-influence spreading round the ancient world at this late and decadent time to a far greater distance than ever it had been able to reach before, thanks largely to the pushfulness of intelligent Greek and unintelligent Phoenician artistic middlemen. Its most positive achievement is its influence on the development of the "archaic" Greek art of the renaissance in the seventh century, and also on that of Italy through the Greek art of the Etruscans. Here indeed the Saites builded better than they knew, for Egypt in their time can justly claim to have been the foster-mother of Greek classical art.

The Mesopotamian art-center can also claim its influence on budding Greek artistic energies. So great an art as that of Assyria in the days of Ashurbanipal could not fail to impress those Greeks who reached Mesopotamia in the seventh century, if they ever saw it. But in any case the Assyro-Babylonian art-influence had modified the course of art in Syria and Anatolia so profoundly, and had supplied so many pastiches to Phoenicia, that its peculiar character was as well known to the Greeks through the medium of Ionia and Lydia as was that of Egypt via Naukratis and Phoenicia. All the same, we do not recognize the same debt as that which is evidently owed to Egypt in the case of the oldest Greek statues, and which is warranted by Greek tradition.

SURVIVALS IN COPTIC ART

This Coptic gravestone of the seventh century A.D. shows a combination of pagan and Christian emblems—the 'ankh' or symbol of life and the cross—thus illustrating the survival of ancient Egyptian motives.

British Museum.

The Egyptian art of the decadence mingled, as we have seen, with the Graeco-Roman, producing a debased, mixed art, characteristic of Roman days in Egypt. Mesopotamian art, properly speaking, did not. When Hellenism supplanted the ancient culture of Babylon, out went the light of its art. There is no Graeco-Babylonian mixed art like the Graeco-Egyptian. There is only a debased Hellenistic art in Mesopotamia. Only in Persia did the old tradition survive, much mixed with Egyptian elements, and possibly it may have had some effect on the Graeco-Persian Sassanid sculpture. But elsewhere there is nothing.

But Egypt's rose again in Roman decay under Christian auspices in its Coptic guise, in which there is much of direct old Egyptian tradition and character. And this Coptic art not only spread to Asia, but so modified the local pseudo-Roman styles as to produce the art known as Byzantine. In death, Egypt still lived.

GREECE ON THE EVE OF HER GREATEST GLORY

THE MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL GROWTH OF HELLENIC CULTURE TO ITS FLOWERING IN FIFTH CENTURY ATHENS

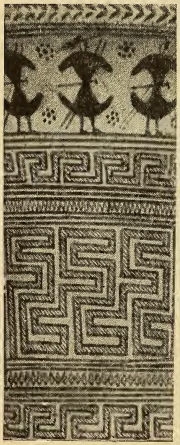
STANLEY CASSON, M.A., F.S.A.

Reader in Classical Archaeology in the University of Oxford; Author of 'Ancient Greece,' 'Technique of Early Greek Sculpture,' etc.

It is not until the name "Hellene" has appeared in the records of history that we can say that we are at last definitely in touch with that peculiar development in the world's history for which Greece is responsible. Before the Hellene appeared there was the strange barbaric world of the Achaeans, in whom we see, if not the other characteristics, at least the personality and the enterprise which stamped their descendants.

Under the general name of Achaeans we can group all these penetrative peoples whose presence is detected in Minoized or Mycenaean Greece by a new orientation of method and culture rather than by sudden catastrophes.

Perhaps the newcomers were welcomed as allies or accepted as mercenaries in the old Mycenaean strongholds. But the Minoan world was decadent and the mainland colonies had sapped its strength. The pressure from the north became too much for a civilization that had launched no new invention in war since it had first organized a navy. The Minoan world had become static. The semi-northernized states of the mainland were probably reinforced by more northern blood, and at last the peaceful penetration from the north ceased to be peaceful.



SEED-TIME AND FLOWERING OF HELLENIC ART

The Greek artist of the Geometric Period drew as a child draws—witness the warriors (left) from a Dipylon vase. By the fifth and fourth centuries he had learned accurate observation, as we realize from the Attic gravestone (right). But something of the same spirit runs through, producing the subjective decoration of the one and the idealized figures (not portraits) of the other.

From British Museum and Athens; photo, Mansell

For nearly three centuries after the collapse of the Minoan and Minoized culture of Greece there is profound darkness, lit only by occasional flashes of discovery. It was an age of war and voyaging, not of commerce. But the history of these early years soon fades into the obscurity of disorder. New hordes of barbaric Dorians swept the remnants of the Minoan world away. Whether Mycenae and the rest of

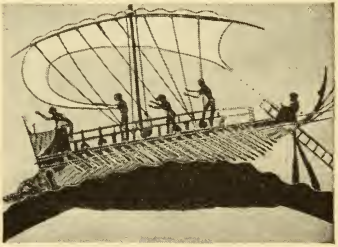
the Mycenaean world was first ruined by the last men of the Bronze Age or by the first men of the Iron Age, by late Achaeans or by early Dorians, we do not know. Nor does it matter profoundly. Achaeans and Dorians are names that imply a difference of degree rather than of kind.

In the midst of this age of incipient organization appears the name Hellenes. According to Herodotus they were originally a small tribe who lived in the north of Greece in Phthiotis. Their founder (or patron saint) was Hellen, and he had a son Doros. Dorians, then, in legend at least, were a development of the main Hellenic stock and not its founders. Soon the name Hellene came to be applied to all who had the same speech and origin. "The Hellenic race," says Herodotus, "has never, since its first origin, changed its language." By 900 or 850 B.C. we can say that the first founders of Hellas are already in harness for their first great strides.

The difference between Minoan and Mycenaean and the earliest phases of Hellenic art is so profound that one would hardly have suspected that they had both been created in the same region. The Minoan artist was observant of Nature and interested in all that he saw. He had an objective outlook and a clear, keen eye, so he drew what he saw or else designed on a basis of what he had seen. The Hellenic artist from 900 to 700 B.C. drew from mental images, in so far as he drew at all, and designed wholly in the abstract. He drew figures of men and beasts as he thought they ought to be, not as he remembered to have seen them. He had all the childishness of genius. And it is this abstract quality which underlies the best Greek art down to 350 B.C., when for the first time artists cut portraits.

The uniform culture of the Early Iron Age in Greek lands had not only occupied all the chief Mycenaean sites, but had spread and multiplied in every direction. In some cases the new settlers started afresh near but not on the old sites. Tiryns has little or no history after its fall, but Asine, a few miles to the south, seems to have replaced it. Mycenae and Athens, however, continue to be inhabited. But many new settlements arise that had no earlier history.

These Iron Age folk took early to the sea—a feat that was, in itself, a marvel of adaptation, for they came from far inland behind the northern ranges that screen the Aegean from the north. By the middle of the eighth century they were painting pictures of their ships on vases, and a little later we find a marine masterpiece carved in ivory at Sparta and a bronze relief of a ship in Crete. They were the precursors of the main body of Greek colonists who left their homes a century or so later. In a century the small ships of the early drawings, hardly large enough for more than twelve men, had given way to larger vessels that could sail across wide stretches of open sea.



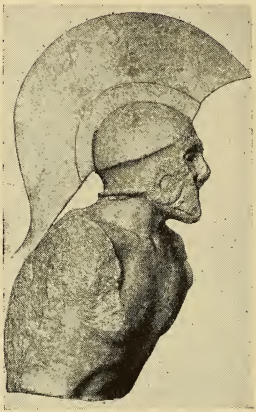
EARLY GREEK MERCHANTMEN AND MEN-OF-WAR

On a cup of the late sixth century B.C. we have this very clear representation of Greek merchantmen and battleships of that early period. In addition to sails, the battleship (right) is propelled by two banks of eleven and twelve oars and has a formidable ram. The merchantman (left) has no oars but depends entirely on its sail and has a much higher-built hull, adapted for stowing cargo. Both were steered by a man with two oars and carried a ladder at the stern for embarking and disembarking.

British Museum

Meantime, in Greece proper Sparta is the center of Greek culture and the accepted leader of the peoples of Greece in relations with the outside world. By 700 B.C. the city had ceased to be a barbaric village in a mountain valley and begun to achieve organization sufficient to allow her to meet on equal terms the kingdoms of Lydia, the cities of Ionia and the empire of Egypt. Spartan life was luxurious and elaborate. By 600 B.C. Sparta was one of the centers of Greek art, and was rivalled only by Corinth and the rapidly growing village of Athens.

But Athens rose as Sparta declined in culture. Somewhere about 550 B.C. Sparta experienced something in the nature of a puritanic revival, perhaps through realization of the danger from rebellion of her subject population. This risk became intensified the more devoted to luxury she became. So Sparta reformed, the city became militarized and the suppression of art and luxury gave a new and sinister meaning to the name "Spartan." There was an almost complete cessation of art in Laconia after about 550 B.C.



AN EARLY SPARTAN

This Spartan warrior is wearing a helmet of the early Attic type—a cumbrous covering for the whole head and neck.

British School at Athens

Perhaps the most characteristically Hellenic quality in the people of Greece made itself evident at the very start. Diversity of method together with a uniformity of aim was always at the basis of Greek life.

This essentially Hellenic growth of diversity made itself felt at a time when the newly fledged Hellenes had just emerged from a period of uniformity of culture. The Dark Age already mentioned, one which extends from 1150 to 800 B.C., shows us the Greeks as yet hardly diversified. They had a simple and uniform culture, to whose artistic aspect the name "Geometric" has been given.

The earliest variation on the common Geometric style which is perceptible in early Attic art is strongly local. The so-called "Proto-Attic" art of 700-600—principally vase-painting—shows a great advance on the earlier art without any pronounced stimulus from outside. By 600 Athens was becoming an art center of the first importance, and it was about this time that men other than artists began to realize in Athens that Sparta was not the only city of Greece.

Just as conditions favoring the independent growth of art were different in all towns in Greece, so conditions affecting political life differed also. The Spartan lived as a member of an army of occupation in a recently subdued land. Messenians waited on his frontiers for any sign of weakness; the defeated natives, Helots or Perioikoi, belonging as they did to the race that had preceded the Dorians in Laconia, waited their chance, hoping to seize their opportunity when it arose. These conditions may be considered as largely responsible for the puritanical revival of the sixth century, which sought, in the face of danger, to diminish luxury and reassert the military traditions of the past. It was little wonder that art went by the board and puritan qualities survived.

In Attica the conditions of growth had been different. By the seventh century there was a landed aristocracy and a serf population. The country had an organization not unlike the Spartan, but without its dangers. The Athenians at all periods looked on themselves as of one indigenous stock. But the ruling families, nevertheless, were of varying origins, and few of them strictly of Attic origin.

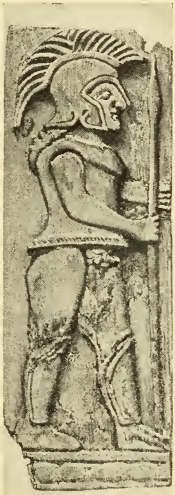
Messenian stock, curiously enough, was very prominent among the various family trees that were known. These Messenians were largely strangers who seem to have arrived rather as refugees from Peloponnesian disturbances than as invading con-

querors. They were what the Greeks called "epelydes," immigrants rather than victors. But whether the naïvely blameless origins of the Attic families hide a story of invasion and enslavement, or whether an inrush of comparatively wealthy refugees created out of itself an aristocracy, we cannot tell with certainty. The result, in any case, was the same. Attic peasants were reduced to serfdom and quasi-slavery.

One good result of the highest importance emerged from this otherwise unsatisfactory development of society. Codes of law were drawn up to meet the new conditions of inequality. In the old days justice was administered by a council of nobles. Even as early as Homer we find depicted on the shield of Achilles the administration of justice not by the King or Prince, but by a group of elders.

It was a form of justice which could be relied on by the poorer people, since the nobility had little wealth and, consequently, could well afford to be impartial. Where justice was untainted, codes of law, rigidly drawn up, were hardly necessary. But by the eighth century the nobles were rapidly becoming wealthy, partly because of the comparative peace of the times and partly because of the improved methods of farming and olive growing. The poorer people, meantime, remained as poor as before, because they were rapidly becoming the virtual serfs of the rich. Hence arose a demand for the codification of the laws, because the poor no longer trusted the rich. It is at once an illumination on the social conditions of the time, and upon the indestructible genius of Greek peoples for asserting their political and social freedom.

The Athens that emerged during the Solonian reforms was a city that showed in rough outline the glories that she later fulfilled. Before Solon the great Attic families had cared more for their estates than for the city itself. The only family that ever contributed on the grand scale to the glories of Athens, the Philaidae, lived at its doors in the parish of Lacciadae. Perhaps the wealthiest and greatest of the landowning families was the Alcmaeonidae, who were mortal opponents of Peisistratus. Their neighbors were the Paeonidae, who lived in Acharnae along Mount Parnes.



VIRILE RELIEF

This bone plaque is an excellent example of Spartan art before the 'puritanical revival' of the sixth century B.C.

Journal of Hellenic Studies

Each family had its own religious cults and shrines, its own traditions, its own politics, and in some cases, perhaps, its own coinage. Each family had its own coat-of-arms and its own retainers. Attica was divided up among these great landlords. and the Attic peasant was their tenant. His condition and individual prosperity meant little to his masters, and their own interests were not necessarily those of the state. In fact, until Solon codified the laws anew, the state as such hardly existed.

The material remains at Athens confirm this view. From 700 to 600 B.C. Athens as a city of beauty can hardly be said to have existed at all. Her walls, if she had any, and her houses were of mud brick. Attica was probably cultivated and populous; Athens was little more than a fortress surrounded by or enclosing a few humble dwellings and a collection of ancient and venerated shrines.

However, Solon saw that Attica, like Laconia, needed a metropolis, and he gave these ancient shrines a new meaning. It is precisely to the time of Solon that the earliest sculpture and the best early architecture of Athens belong. Remains of no fewer than eight small sanctuaries, exquisitely built and admirably adorned, remain on the Acropolis. All date to about 600-580 B.C. They give us our first knowledge of the development of Attic sculpture, and show beyond dispute that the potters who had painted the

first masterpieces of proto-Attic art in the preceding century were their artistic teachers. Each was indisputably Attic.

But the step taken by Solon was an important one, and the fact that the great Attic families who stood to lose so much by the reforms did little effectively to hinder them, and allowed Solon to live on in the state which he had attempted to reform, suggests that there were many who supported him, and that the landowners were not supreme. From Solon to Peisistratus was a natural transition.

Peisistratus, his disciple, with more perception but less honesty, understood the future sketched for Athens by his master, but also knew the power of combination and evasion possessed by the aristocracy. Himself connected with two old Attic families, but otherwise an independent citizen, he saw the weakness and strength of both sides, but finally espoused the cause of the state against the landowners. He perceived also that force was essential to his success. By a *coup d'état* he made himself supreme head of the state. His subsequent history is a record of bargaining and cross-bargaining with the old landed families in order that he might have a politically powerful majority on his side. Twice he failed and was driven out, but he finally established himself and his sons in power.

No two city states had identical histories, but that of Athens most closely resembles the average—a long and undistinguished period of landowning aristocratic control followed by a democratic or quasi-democratic upheaval which was itself preceded or followed by an individual dictatorship or "Tyrannis." The "Gamoroi" or landed aristocracy of Syracuse held the reins of government from about 600 to 500 B.C. They were suc-

CHOICEST CREATION OF THE ATTIC POTTERS

Attic ceramic art reached its zenith in the François vase fashioned by Ergotimus and painted by Clitias about the middle of the sixth century B.C. and named after its finder. The shape is finely modeled and the decoration marvelously delicate. The top strip here—the principal frieze on the vase—depicts the procession of the gods to the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, the lower one the pursuit of Troilus by Achilles.

Photo, Alinari; development from Furtwängler Reichhold, 'Griechischen Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann

FIGURES CARVED BY CUNNING HANDS

Indigenous Attic sculpture had its beginnings in the sixth century B.C., to which time all these statues belong. In the earliest period a soft stone was used and an almost clumsy robustness of form marked most of the figures. This is still visible in the finely designed statue of the calf-bearer (center) of the transitional period when marble was substituted. Sculpture then attained a naturalness and simple dignity exemplified in the marble figure on the right.

From National and Acropolis Museums, Athens

ceeded by tyrants. The aristocracy of Megara and Miletus rose to power and fell from it in the same way. The only cities that consistently maintained an unbroken record of democracy (at any rate, as far as we know) were the wealthy cities of the Thracian coast of the Aegean. Here no tyrants and no aristocracies are heard of. (*See* page 557.)

Once the standard of city life had been set on the mainland it was a comparatively easy matter for colonists to launch forth and, with the assistance of a surplus population, found replicas of the mother city. The first big movement of the kind had already sent the quickly accumulating surplus of mainland Greece over to the shores of Asia Minor, called from very early times Yavan or Ionia. On the arrival on the Anatolian coast they adopted the name of Ionian, which, from earlier ages, had been given to the peoples of this coast.

ONCE established, the Greeks found that prosperity was to be reached with more speed and more ease than in the mother country. The climate and soil of Asia Minor, its mineral wealth and natural fertility, were such as to raise to prosperity in a short space of time the first settlements of the Greeks. Ionian soon became a synonym for culture and later for luxury; by the Persian Wars it had almost become the equivalent of effete, and Ionians, by their hardier brethren of

the mainland, were thought of as "bred in the shade," and not capable of enduring the heat and burden of the day.

But the very causes which later weakened the stamina of the Ionian served at first to develop his latent genius. While Sparta was plodding slowly ahead and while Athens was but a rustic townlet, science, art and literature were fixing their roots firmly in Ionian soil. The earliest results of observational science and of experimental mathematics were obtained on the Ionian shores. Thales in the seventh century virtually founded geometry and astronomy; Anaximander drew the first map and founded the science of geography. In art Ionia showed the way in sculpture, but soon lost the lead. In painting she never achieved much, and the school of Sicyon on the mainland was the founder of this branch of art. In literature Archilochus, Alcaeus and Sappho are names which indicate a greater wealth of culture in Ionia than could be shown for the mainland by the earlier poets Tyrtaeus and Alcman of Lacedaemon.

In the types of their cities the Greek genius for diversity is most clearly illustrated. Cities grew and multiplied as sea-power became more organized and piracy decreased. Piracy, as Thucydides has explained, drove cities inland away from the dangerous coasts. The gradual suppression of piracy led the old cities of the inland type to feel their way towards harbors.

Athens did not begin to use Piraeus till the end of the sixth century; the same tendency later in the fifth century made Athens, Megara and Argos build Long Walls. The colonies and later settlements not only avoided the hinterland and clung to the sea, but perched on the very end of promontories and even on coastal islands, as if it were the sea that was their defense against the land. This paradoxical reversal is one of the most important products of the dim and all too little known period between 850 and 650. During this time the Greeks found that the sea was their natural medium of communication and that it would prove to be the basis of their future prosperity.

The turn of the tide in the safety of the seas is marked by a change in the type of cities, in the change from the inland rock citadel to the promontory settlement. This change is an important one, for it marks a new theory in the methods of communal life.

THE old inland cities had been primarily refuges from attack; the new cities were to be centers for the creation and interchange of goods, of culture and of ideas. The old cities were emergency groupings which might or might not persist after the

MAGNIFICENT SCULPTURE OF THE IONIAN SCHOOL

The monument known as the Harpy Tomb, at Xanthus in Lycia, bore external reliefs on the four sides representing enthroned figures, perhaps the heroized dead, receiving various offerings. On the north side, illustrated here, the 'Harpies' probably kindly geniuses of death, carry off tiny figures symbolizing the souls of deceased persons.

British Museum; photo, R. B. Fleming

DORIC COLUMNS IN A PAESTUM TEMPLE

These columns—six at each end and thirteen on each side—erected on a ground plan measuring 108 by 47 feet bear witness to the majesty of fifth-century Greek architecture in the Sybarite colony of Poseidonia. Each has a base 4 feet and a top 2¾ feet in diameter. They belong to the third of the three surviving temples, a small but beautiful structure midway in date between the other two.

Photo, Ewing Galloway

emergency had passed. The new were associations for the purpose of living life in a new way—of starting what the Greeks always called "the good life" in the place of a mere haphazard existence from hand to mouth.

The new settlements of the colonists were based on a wholly different theory. The expedition set out from the mother city—say Corinth or Megara; it crossed the high seas, where that was necessary, and coasted where it could. In the bays and inlets it met stray pirates and no doubt sank them at sight, for colonial expeditions were reasonably large. It arrived at the chosen land and searched for a suitable site. In many places, certainly in Sicily and Spain, earlier colonies of Phoenicians were already in occupation. Sometimes, as in Sicily, they were expelled and their settlements seized. Phoenicians preferred islands or peninsulas with very narrow necks. The Greeks largely followed suit in their choice, either approving the wisdom of the Phoenicians and copying their example, or because they had seized Phoenician settlements. But in many cases the Greeks preferred the ends of rocky promontories, a type of site not popular with Phoenicians.

The simplest and oldest of Greek trading stations—the germ of the colonial city—were formed by merely building a wall across the neck of a rocky cape. In the wall there was a gate, and trade could be carried on with the natives through that gate. If the barbarians stormed such a humble post the gate closed and the colonists dropped into their waiting ships and sped for home.

One such post, of the early fifth or late sixth century, remains almost intact on a barren spur of land near the modern Kavalla in Thrace. This little trading post could hardly hold more than thirty men, yet it was an embryo Hellenic city. Se-

linus and Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, Abdera in Thrace, Cnidus in Asia Minor—in fact, the majority of Greek colonies—were of this type. Their inhabitants faced the enemy, and yet retreat was safe, or as safe as might be.

For this reason few, if any, Greek cities were built on great inland harbors. They were all on the open and stormy coasts, and if they used the harbors they still did not live on them. The reason is obvious: an enemy could close their narrow-necked harbor with a small force, cut off their escape by sea, and then storm them by land.

The colonists were like sea birds that perch on the ultimate tongues of rock and then fly off when affrighted. Left unattacked, a city grew and expanded. Its only means of expansion was to press farther up the promontory. Thus Byzantium, which is of all Greek cities the most typical in form, pushed its walls farther and farther forward until in Christian times the old Megarean ramparts of the founders (which must have crossed the peninsula on which the city stood somewhere near St. Sophia) became the mighty battlements of Theodosius that held the Turks at bay and preserved behind their strength the culture of Europe. The intermediate stage was formed by the walls of Constantine. Byzantium, indeed, was the last logical development of the Greek city state, whose earliest form had been the rock-perch among the waves.

From 750 to 600 may thus be considered to be the great formative period in which the essential Greek character was forged. The varied life of the sea, the encounters with barbarians of every type and description and the spirit of adventure that infused all their doings gave vitality anew to a profoundly vital race and developed every tendency to originality and freedom of action. Not least among these formative influences was that of the barbarians among whom the Greek colonists lived and traded, or from whom they wrested their rocky citadels. From the wooden stockaded towns of the half-Hellenic fur-trappers of Gelonus in the Caucasus to the remote Phocaean settlement at Maenake, near Gibraltar, ran the extent of the known world from east to west.

However, their prosperity was short-lived; the rising power of Carthage and Etruria, both "barbarian" in Greek eyes, resented this westward push of Greek enterprise. At the naval battle of Alalia, in Corsica, Etruscan and Carthaginian navies together taught the Greeks a lesson and virtually gained the command of the sea. From this date onward Greek voyagers to Marseilles ran the gauntlet of hostile fleets—which were not merely piratical—that lurked around Corsica and Sardinia and the north-west coasts of Italy. Tartessus and its silver fell to Carthage, and the Phocaean settlements of southern Spain dwindled. It was only at these places that the Greek colonists had met their match; but soon the struggle was renewed in Sicily, where Carthaginians came to avenge their Phoenician kinsmen whom the Greeks had ejected in the eighth century. For two centuries the struggle for the island raged and neither side triumphed finally.

Perhaps only in the south did the Greeks have a simple task. The first settlers ventured timidly to the Libyan coast and, following the wise Greek custom, sought for a safe perch on which to settle. More timid than most, they chose an island off the coast in the old Phoenician manner. The island was called Platea, and was equal in size to the subsequent city of Cyrene. They lived on Platea for two years with but little prosperity. So they moved to the mainland and lived there for six years. The friendly Libyans then came to them and brought them to a spot farther inland which was incredibly fertile and lovely. Here, finally, they founded the city of Cyrene.

The story is an interesting one in that it illustrates for us the whole process of Greek settlement. That the process reached its third and final stage here is due to the fact that the Libyans were so friendly. Elsewhere the colonists did not perhaps get beyond the first stage. The city of Istria, near the Danube mouth, remained where it had been founded, on a small island in a lagoon. Apollonia on the Pontic coast, and Olbia in Scythia, each started on small islands off the coast and then moved to the mainland. But these were dangerous regions where nomad Scythians and Thracians waited to attack settlers. There was none of the friendliness of the Libyans of Cyrenaica. Little wonder, then, that in such various settings the Greeks developed every variety of

TWO OF THE THREE IMPOSING TEMPLES THAT SURVIVE TO MARK THE SITE OF POSEIDONIA

Poseidonia, or, as the Romans came to call it, Paestum, was a Greek colony founded in about 600 B.C., as an offshoot of Sybaris, on the Italian coast south of Salerno. A group of three majestic Doric temples is all that remains of the pre-Roman town. That on the left here is the 'Basilica,' so called because of its unusual width and its central row of columns, forming two aisles—it was probably dedicated to two deities. The 'Temple of Poseidon' next to it is a later and more mature structure, dating from the days when Greek temples had acquired the perfect canon of form which they retained to the end.

ART BIG WITH FUTURE PROMISE

Greek sculpture of the sixth century shows but the approach to the perfect mastery of the human figure which was to come. This is a frieze from one of the little shrine-like buildings erected by the Greek states at Delphi and known as 'treasuries'—probably the Cuidian Treasury. There is little doubt that the part shown here represents some episode from the Homeric poems.

Delphi Museum; photo, Alinari

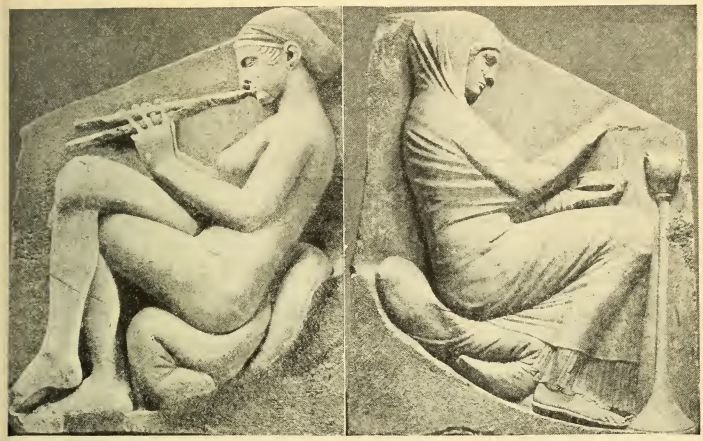
character and outlook. And yet one could always tell a Greek from a Barbarian.

One of the most amazing phenomena in the two centuries that preceded the great outburst of activity of the fifth century is the rapidity of growth in art and literature. At the beginning of the sixth century Greek architecture was fully developed. It had reached a level of excellence which it never exceeded. The great temples of the early sixth century were in technique often better than any Greeks temples that succeeded them, and were as beautiful in form. It was an age of colossal building. The temple of Ephesus, dedicated to Artemis, the sanctuary of Hera at Samos and of Olympian Zeus at Athens, were the largest Hellenic buildings ever erected; and they must have looked the most magnificent.

A Greek temple in those days was a blaze of warm color. It was built mostly of limestone, coated with a fine creamy glaze of stucco made of powdered marble and picked out in detail with rich reds, blues and greens. Once the rules of technique in architecture were established —which, indeed, they were by 600 B.C.— there was little change. The Parthenon is a variation of, rather than a development from, previous buildings. Greek architecture remained the same right down to Roman times. It improved perhaps in elegance and certainly in decoration and adornment, but the Greek temple of the second century B.C. is structurally the same as that of the seventh. It was perhaps the one branch of creative activity in which the Greeks showed less than their usual inventive and adventurous spirit.

But it was far otherwise with sculpture and painting. By 600 B.C. Greek sculptors had produced few masterpieces. But fifty years later they had begun to produce masterpieces of creative art such as the world had not yet seen. The sculptures of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi, the lovely Maidens of the Acropolis at Athens (*see* page 525), and the firmly knit statues of the sculptors of Argos and Sicyon show a genius that has suddenly flared up into a flame of activity.

One sees the artist triumphantly breaking down the limitations of material and of tradition, and working untrammelled. Fifty years later the fine genius of Greek sculpture is in full flower, and leading the world in art. Thus, in a hundred years, or at most a hundred and fifty, Greek sculptors evolved with an amazing rapidity to a pitch of excellence that has never since been rivaled. They achieved in little



Interpretations vary, but most probably the goddess (below) is Aphrodite rising from the sea attended by the Hours or Graces; certainly the texture of her clinging drapery suggests the watery element. On this basis the figures on the side pieces above, a courtesan playing the double flute and a draped lady feeding incense to a thurijer, would symbolize profane and sacred love.

Apart from their arresting beauty, these Ionian altar reliefs show the level of Greek sculpture at the end of the archaic period, just before the outburst of activity that in thirty years produced the perfect Attic type. Note that the legs of the courtesan are imperfectly articulated; the breasts of the goddess are incorrectly placed and the facial angles still show a trace of that acuteness which was a legacy from pre-Hellenic times.

GREEK SCULPTURE ON THE THRESHOLD OF MATURITY

From 'Antike Denkmäler'

more than a century what it took the Middle Ages four centuries to accomplish, and what Egypt never achieved in as many thousands of years.

Part of the secret of their success was that they never looked backwards and that their art was never controlled by religion. The Greek of 550 B.C. knew little and cared less for the art of 600 B.C. Pheidias did not trouble his head over the archaic masterpieces of the generation before him. They lay, indeed, shattered and broken beneath the very walls of his own studio on the Acropolis, serving as the foundations of the floor he trod! So to the Greeks of the fifth century the paintings of the sixth century were so poor that the artist had to write under each thing what it was: "this is a cow," "this is a woman," and so forth. In such terms the Greeks derided their own origins; but this very derision showed the intensity of their striving; they were looking always forwards and never backwards. Only in literature is the past respected, because the past was Homer.

It is perhaps the most amazing proof of the genius of the Greeks that their greatest literary masterpiece was produced at a date when their language was the only finished vehicle of expresison that they possessed:

For in those days, in the dim time of myths,
Great nations slowly grew to being, under
The hammers of the hidden powers, the smiths;
They forged them like new swords to cleave asunder
The bonds of the old world, and on the blade
Strange runes of utter loveliness they laid
To move the hearts of men to wonder,
To be a song still young while ages flower and fade.

Second Era
THE HELLENIC AGE
550-201 B.C.

CHRONICLE IV—Persia and Greece in Collision, 550-478 B.C.

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39. Greeks & Scientific Discovery — *Charles Singer, D.Litt.*
40. Eastward Spread of Hellenism — *Prof. H. G. Rawlinson*
41. The Celtic Peoples: their Culture and their Tragedy — *Prof. R. A. S. Macalister*
42. Ancient Commerce and the Importance of the Mediterranean — *G. H. Stevenson*
43. What the Modern World Owes to Greece — *Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, LL.D.*

CHRONICLE VII—The Beginnings of Roman Power, 280-201 B.C.

44. Rome and the Reasons for her Later Greatness — *Prof. H. Stuart-Jones, D.Litt.*
45. The Carthaginians and their Maritime Empire — *F. N. Pryce*
46. Patricians and Plebs: Rome's Warring Factions — *Prof. H. Stuart-Jones*
47. History's Most Glorious Failure: A Study of Hannibal — *Capt. B. H. Liddell-Hart*
48. The Agony of Greece — *Edwyn Bevan, D.Litt., LL.D.*

The shortness of this Era compared with those before and after it emphasizes the amazing rapidity with which the Greek peoples brought their genius to fruition, playing out in a bare three hundred years a microcosm of the whole historical and intellectual drama of the human race. History for the first time gives the impression of gathering speed, but the surrounding peoples have not yet caught the fire and still seem to move from event to event with the ponderous momentum of the preceding Era. Hence the narrative of this Era may appear unduly concerned with purely Greek affairs; Chronicle IV, it is true, having much to tell about the rise of the Persian Empire and its clash with Hellas, but Chronicle V being almost entirely devoted to that Peloponnesian War from which Thucydides drew such profound lessons for posterity. During the latter period Persia yields to the political historian little more than the names of its successive kings, while Egypt, as a mere province of the great Empire, remains sunk in an obscurity only brightened by sporadic revolts. In Chronicle VI, however, we see Alexander cutting clean across the established order of things, bringing East and West into new relationships and inaugurating an era that was to last till the rise of Islam.

NOTE ON THE HELLENIC AGE

In Chronicle VII Rome takes the field. For centuries back she had been working out her destiny in a circumscribed world of her own, but the study-chapters dealing with her intensely interesting development are reserved for this moment when she first adds her affluent to the stream of connected history. Chapter 44 in particular ranges backwards to the very beginning of the Era.

It will be observed that our earlier Chronological Table covered the Chronicles of an entire Era. The Table that follows applies to Chronicle IV only, and henceforward each Chronicle will be accompained by a separate Table, either in a single sequence of dates as here, or in parallel synchronized columns as required.

The last date exceeds the nominal limit of the Chronicle by four years, both in order to link on with the succeeding Chronicle and to round off one aspect of the events dealt with—the Greek and Etruscan rivalry in the West. The breaks in our historical narrative must of necessity be arbitrary, and it is impossible to select a date that shall be equally appropriate for all contemporary movements; so that the device will often be adopted hereafter.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE IV

B.C.
550 Cyrus the Persian revolts against Astyages, and makes himself King of the Medes and Persians.
Beginning of Persian Empire.
Beginnings of Peloponnesian League.
Servius Tullius (sixth king) reigning in Rome. The Servian Constitution created by him.
Lao-tze floruit in China.
546 Cyrus conquers Lydia.
545 Cyrus subjugates Ionia.
544 Emigration of Phocæans and Teans.
539 Peisistratus tyrant at Athens the third time (to 527).
Cyrus takes Babylon.
535 Battle of Alalia; the Phocæans abandon Corsicia to Carthaginians and Etruscans.
Tarquinius Superbus (Etruscan) seventh and last King of Rome till 510. Tyranny.
532 Polycrates tyrant of Samoa: in alliance with Amasis of Egypt.
Pythagoras floruit.
529 Expedition of Cyrus against Massagetæ.
Death of Cyrus. Accession of Cambyses.
527 Hippias succeeds Peisistratus as tyrant of Athens.
526 Polycrates transfers alliance to Persia.
Death of Amasis (Aahmes II).
525 Battle of Pelusium and conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.
Aeschylus born (d. 456).
523 Death of Polycrates.
522 Death of Cambyses.
Persian succession claimed by Darius Hystaspis and Pseudo-Smerdis.
Pindar born (d. c. 442).
521 Darius established as Great King.
520 Carthaginians conquer Sardinia.
517 Darius in Egypt.
514 Hipparchus assassinated by Harmodius and Aristogeiton.
Thracian and Trans-Danube expedition of Darius.
Histiæus of Miletus.
510 Expulsion of the Peisistratidæ, with Spartan support.
Athens enters Peloponnesian League.
Rome expels the Kings and establishes the Republic (the "Regifugium").
509 Reputed first treaty between Rome and Carthage.
Wars for the restoration of Etruscan supremacy at Rome for several years.
508 Democratic constitution of Cleisthenes.
506 Athenians defeat Chalcidians and Bœotians.
501 Plots of Aristagoras of Miletus.
c. 501 Reforms of Confucius in the province of Lu.

B.C.
500 Cleander tyrant of Gela.
499 The Ionian revolt. Athens and Eretria promise aid.
498 The burning of Sardis.
496 Battle of Lake Regillus (traditional).
495 Sophocles born (d. 406).
494 Battle of Lade and fall of Miletus.
Suppression of the Ionian revolt.
Rome: the secession to the Sacred Mount.
Institution of Tribunes of the Plebs.
493 Persians secure the western shore of the Hellespont.
Rise of Temistocles at Athens.
Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium.
Hippocrates tyrant of Gela.
The Latin League, headed by Rome (revolt against Etruscan supremacy).
493 or 492 Miltiades driven from the Chersonese to Athens.
492 Conquest of Thrace by Mardonius.
491 Persian envoys demand "earth and water."
Battle of Marathon?
Battle of the Helorus. Hippocrates prevented from seizing Syracuse by joint intervention of Corinth and Corcyra.
Beginning of Roman-Volscian wars (for 50 years).
490 Battle of Marathon (traditional date).
488 Rome: Legend of Coriolanus.
486 Egyptian revolt from Persia.
Roman League with Hernicans.
Death of Darius. Accession of Xerxes.
485 Gelon, who has succeeded Hippocrates at Gela, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse.
484 Suppression of Egyptian revolt.
Birth of Herodotus.
482 Great naval development at Athens, by Themistocles.
480 Preparation of Xerxes. Gelon rejects overtures from Greece.
Battles of Artemisium and Thermopylæ (Aug.). Evacuation of Attica.
Battle of Salamis (Sept.).
Euripides born.
Carthaginian project of Sicilian conquest. Gelon refuses aid to Greeks against Persia.
Battle of Himera (Sept.)
479 Battles of Plataea and Mycale.
Renewed Ionian revolt against Persia.
Greeks attack the Hellespont. Peloponnesians withdraw.
Capture of Sestus.
478 Delian Confederation inaugurated by Athens.
Hieron succeeds Gelon at Syracuse.
Death of Confucius.
474 Destruction of Etruscan sea power by Hieron, at battle of Cumæ.

MAP TO ILLUMINATE THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND THE FORCES OF ORIENTALISM

Century by century as communications developed and territorial ambitions increased, the collision of the Oriental empires with the growing civilization of the West became imminent. In the sixth century B.C. the Persians were to reach the Ægean and establish their dominion over the Ionian cities; the Greeks had gone west to Sicily; Carthage had in its turn pioneered a western policy and all the Ægean communities were restless. Here then is the stage set for the great Persian invasion of Greece in the early years of the fifth century.

PERSIA AND GREECE IN COLLISION: 550-478 B.C.

Rise of Cyrus the Persian

About the year 550 B.C., Cyrus the Persian, king of Anshan, of the house of Achæmenes which had ruled among the Persians for four generations, seized the crown of Media from his reputed kinsman Astyages, and united the kindred peoples of the Medes and Persians under his sway. There was no conquest of the Medes by the Persians, who had recognized the overlordship of the Median dynasty; but a Persian dynasty took the place of the Median. To the western world, Mede and Persian became equivalent terms, except in respect of the specifically Persian troops, which enjoyed a high reputation.

Assyria had perished some sixty years before. From its ashes had arisen the new Babylonian Empire of Nebuchadrezzar, but that empire's vitality departed with his death; its scepter was now in the hands of Nabonidus, a scholar, a dilettante, and his far from competent son Belshazzar.

Egypt as a military power was effete; dependent for fighting purposes mainly on troops of foreign mercenaries, whose valor could be more relied upon than the fidelity of their officers.

On the other hand, to the west of Media, herself little more than half a century old as an effective power, another power had grown up during the same period on the ruins of Phrygia, separated from Media by the agreed boundary of the river Halys, overlapping and considerably influenced by the Hellenic world beyond. But the capacities of Lydia were still untested.

Such was the world upon which Cyrus the Achæmenid looked, when he made himself the first "King of the Medes and Persians," the "Great King." The old empires would never revive; who, if anyone, was to enter on their inheritance? It was a world that for its own part viewed the new northern monarchy with suspicion.

It is manifest that the personality of Cyrus made a tremendous impression on his contemporaries. Bred in the remote obscurity of the Persian highlands, legends gathered about his birth and upbringing. He was the child of destiny, miraculously preserved at birth from the doom his grandfather Astyages had prepared for the expected babe, and reared in obscurity till his identity was revealed. The tradition of his training was idealized a century and a half later by Xenophon, the soldier pupil of Socrates; and in all the legend of Cyrus the humanity of the man is a conspicuous feature. We may credit as much or as little of such tales as we please; but the fact of his humanity is convincingly attested by his statesmanship, in noble contrast to the old Assyrian ruthlessness, which the last Babylonian empire had by no means discarded.

But Crœsus of Lydia perceived a menace. His father had fought, but finally concluded a treaty of peace and alliance, with the father of Astyages; their friendly relations had been maintained, and the royal houses were closely connected by marriage. Could those relations be continued with the supplanter of Astyages? Since the Median war the power of Lydia had increased materially; if another fight with Media was imminent, it would be better to strike before the new kingdom was consolidated. Crœsus tried to awaken Nabonidus and Amasis of Egypt to the common menace, and procured an anti-Persian alliance with them and with Sparta. But before his allies were ready to move, Crœsus, beguiled by a rather obviously ambiguous oracle, flung down the challenge to Cyrus by crossing the Halys early in 546 and seizing Pteria.

Cyrus took the field. An indecisive battle, followed by no active move on the part of Cyrus, induced Crœsus to withdraw to his western capital at Sardis and send an urgent summons to his allies for a spring campaign. But the Persian gave him no time. He swooped on Sardis, captured it, took the king prisoner, and turned Lydia into a Persian province. The Ionian cities which had submitted to

the suzerainty of the half-Hellenized Crœsus were disposed to resist the conqueror, but were soon induced by force or by diplomacy to bow to the inevitable. Spartan envoys forbade the Great King to interfere with the Hellenes as "they would not permit it," but Sparta took no further action and Cyrus took no further notice. Egypt and Babylon sat still.

Babylon becomes a Persian City

AGAIN there was a pause. Probably Cyrus found or foresaw troubles on his eastern border from the ferment among the nomads of those regions; we hear of him in conflict with the Sacæ and Bactrians. Then in 540 he turned on Babylon. The government of Nabonidus was not popular in Babylonia; it was well understood that the conquest of Lydia had brought upon the conquered nothing worse than a change of masters, since the populations had been subjected to none of the accustomed penalties. When Cyrus swept down on Babylon, half the population looked on him not as an enemy but as a liberator; Gobryas, the Babylonian governor of Gutium, captured the great city for him before his arrival in person, and put Belshazzar to death, though Nabonidus himself was spared.

CYRUS THE GREAT

Military genius and humanity were his attributes; but this winged figure on a bas-relief from Pasargadæ, with head-dress of goats' horns and solar disks, shows him in his divine capacity.

From Dieulafoy, "L'Art antique en Perse"

So in 539, to the new empire of Persia, Media and Lydia Cyrus had added all the Asiatic territories over which the mightiest of the ancient empires had ever held sway; and was master of all from the shores of the Ægean to the Caspian, and from the Euxine to the deserts of Arabia. Twelve years before, he had been only the obscure king of Anshan.

It was a tremendous achievement, though it had no doubt been made comparatively easy by the factions which had given him their support and welcome in the conquered states; but Cyrus was more than a great conqueror—he was a great king. The new regime was not merely accepted, it was welcomed. In the ten years that remained to Cyrus after he became King of Babylon, no revolt was raised throughout his vast dominion. No doubt his subjects had a wholesome fear of his power, but they had no reason to dread his cruelty. There were no flayings, no massacres, no deportations. On the contrary, the populations deported by Assyrians or Babylonians were, so far as practicable, restored to their old homes. The gods whom previous conquerors had been wont to carry off were returned to their old shrines. Everywhere the renewal of the ancient rites was permitted. A universal clemency and toleration took the place of the old universal terror.

Cyrus made no move against Egypt. For the last ten years of his life he was concerned not with further expansion but with the security of his eastern border against the incursions of the wild nomad tribes; and it was during the campaign against them that he met his death in 529 B.C., in some way that is not known.

He left two sons: Cambyses, his heir, and Smerdis, the latter of whom, with or without excuse, was secretly put to death by his elder brother.

For Cambyses, the immediate object

of ambition was the conquest of Egypt. But the accession of a new ruler in such circumstances was bound to be attended by the possibility at least of disturbances, demanding vigilance, and the frontier trouble was made the more pressing by the death of Cyrus. Four years passed before the Persian picked a quarrel with Aahmes (Amasis), who died himself while Cambyses was preparing for the campaign.

Cambyses becomes Pharaoh

PHANES, a Greek captain of mercenaries, betraying the Pharaoh, secured from local chiefs an adequate water supply for Cambyses to march through the southern desert. When his army reached the frontier fort of Pelusium, a single sanguinary battle sufficed to decide the fate of Egypt, though the fortresses at Memphis and Heliopolis offered a stubborn but brief resistance. In the spring of 525 Egypt was annexed to the Persian empire.

Cyrus, when he conquered Babylon, had assumed the ancient crown with the religious rites of the ancient kingdom, untroubled by the fact that that religion was not his own. Cambyses in Egypt followed the example, and was proclaimed Pharaoh as though he had been an orthodox worshipper of Amen, without any idea of disloyalty to his own Zoroastrian faith; a practice which no Assyrian had dreamed of adopting, but one to which in fact the Persian dynasty owed much of its stability.

But, says the Greek historian, Cambyses went mad, and committed frenzied outrages against the religion he had at first sought to conciliate and its devil-deities, as no doubt they now seemed to him.

Death of King Cambyses

ON the top of this came news of a Persian revolt, engineered by the adherents of the old Magian religion in antagonism to the Zoroastrianism of the Achæmenids. They had proclaimed a sham Smerdis king. Persian authority was thoroughly established in Egypt—thirty years passed before it was again challenged—and Cambyses started for the north with a portion of his army and some leading nobles, among whom was his distant cousin, the Achæmenid Darius the son of Hystaspes, to crush the pretender. On the way, somewhere in Syria, the king died suddenly. The army went on, taking the dead body with them. The imposter retired from Susa to Media, where the Magians were stronger than in Persia. Thither he was pursued, surprised and run to earth by Darius, with six companions, all Persians, who slew him; and the crown of Cyrus was set on

LYDIAN MOUNTED SOLDIERS SUCH AS WERE DEFEATED BY CYRUS

Lydian armies in the sixth century were dominating Anatolia. The three soldiers here depicted are well seated on stout horses, carry a spear and, on the back, perhaps a quiver. It is uncertain whether they are wearing helmets, because of the mutilated condition of the heads. Nevertheless, the evidence of this marble bas-relief, part of a frieze from Sardis, warrants the conclusion that, in these warriors, Cyrus met no unworthy foe when he came into conflict with Crœsus of Lydia.

British Museum

CRŒSUS THE LAST LYDIAN KING

A red-figured amphora of Attic work, c. 500 B.C., in the Louvre, shows Crœsus on the burning pyre after his defeat. Herodotus adorns the tale and points the moral of unstable fortune.

After Furtwängler-Reichhold, "Griechische Vasenmalerei"

the head of Darius (522 B.C.), a kinsman.

Darius Becomes Established

THE creation of the Persian empire had been the work of a single man. It combined under a single ruler many peoples and kingdoms never before united. His son had added Egypt to a dominion already of unprecedented magnitude, and died within eight years, leaving no heir with a clear title to the succession; Darius could at best claim no more than to be the nearest of kin, with a vigorous Persian backing. If in such circumstances he had merely succeeded in preventing the disruption of the empire it would have been a notable achievement; but he did very much more. He gave it an organization which enabled it to endure undiminished for two hundred years.

In two years Darius established himself so firmly on the imperial throne that no serious revolt occurred till another twenty years had passed. In those first two years he had many revolts on his hands. Medes revolted, hoping to recover Median ascendancy over the Persians. Persians revolted, in the belief that a grandson of the great Cyrus was still alive. Babylonians and Armenians both revolted, dreaming of recovering their independence. There were signs that officers of the empire itself, the satraps of Egypt and Lydia, had ambitious thoughts of setting up independent kingdoms. The only troops on which the new king could place implicit reliance were the Persians, led by those Persian nobles whose loyalty was never in doubt—forces that sometimes had to be distributed to deal with enemies in quarters far apart. But in two years he had disposed of all the overt rebels; between whom, fortunately, there was no concerted action.

By 517 Darius was the accepted and unchallenged lord of the entire civilized world in Asia and Africa, except that Carthage was beyond his range. His attempts at wider conquest were merely experimental, and were not followed up. He

TOMB OF CYRUS AT PASARGADÆ

Diverse opinions as to the purpose of this limestone monument in the old Persian capital are held. Some have thought that it was a fire-temple; but most probably it is the Great King's tomb. Ionian influence in the architecture is also suspected from certain structural details, but the claim is ill founded.

From Dieulafoy, "L'Art antique en Perse"

was in face of the eternal problem that presents itself to every civilized state with predatory and uncivilized peoples on its border, whose attacks must be held in check. Were they to be forcibly annexed, or was the frontier to be merely policed?

There was certainly at some time an easterly expedition, probably a prolonged one; since the mountain barrier of India was penetrated and the Persian claimed to have conquered "India." That, however, probably meant no more than that princes on the right bank of the Indus paid a tribute. The Aryan Hindus had by this date long established their dominion over all northern India, as well as a fairly complete religious and political ascendancy in the south. Hindu kingdoms covered the Punjab and the Ganges basin; and it was probably in this century—the dates are very uncertain—that an Indian prince resigned his crown to be the founder of Buddhism (see Chap. 40).

But of all this the western records tell us nothing, and of a Persian conquest the Indian records tell us nothing. It is in fact clear only that Darius did touch the fringe of India, but no more. Nor did he take personal part in the expedition.

His other experiment was unfortunate. In 514 he led an army into Europe across a bridge of boats thrown over the Bosporus. But the Hellenes were not his immediate objective. Ionian cities on the European side were already the vassals of Persia as the heir of Lydia. He marched through Thrace to the Danube and crossed it into Scythian territory. There he suffered what all armies have

CYLINDER SEAL OF DARIUS

The king hunts lions among palm trees. His name is inscribed in Persian, Susian and Babylonian. Above appears the symbol of Ahuramazda, the national god, in a winged disk. *British Museum*

TOMB OF KING CAMBYSES

Solid below, this tower at Pasardadæ stood 23 feet square and 39 feet high. The upper part contained a chamber placed 16 feet from the ground and reached by a flight of steps. *From Dieulafoy, "L'Art antique en Perse"*

suffered in attempting to penetrate Russia. An extremely mobile enemy kept out of reach but cut off all his supplies. He could only struggle back to the Danube with little more than the wreck of an army.

The Ionian contingent had been left in charge of the bridge, but had not adopted the suggestion claimed for Miltiades—tyrant of the Chersonese, but an Athenian noble—that they should quit their post; which would have involved the total annihilation of Darius and his force. So Darius escaped, unconscious of the contemplated treason. He left a force in Thrace, however, under Megabazus, to convince the regional chiefs that all peoples must own allegiance to the Great King.

There were no more such experiments. Conquest engaged the attention of Darius less than the vast imperial system, which he developed no doubt from the organization created by Cyrus. The next stage in the story of the Persian Empire is the staying of its expansion at the hands of the Greeks.

One portion of the Hellenic world lay

actually within the confines of the Persian empire. All the "Ionic" cities—Dorian and Æolian as well as Ionians proper—in Asia Minor and on the Propontis, with the exception of Miletus which retained its independence by treaty, had submitted to the Lydian overlordship under which their self-government—generally in the form of a "tyrannis"—had not been interfered with. When Crœsus was over-

KING DARIUS WITH CROWN

Merciless to those who defied authority, Darius yet combined the qualities of humanity with wise statesmanship. To him were due the reform of the satrapies, a postal system, a uniform coinage and Persia's naval prestige.

By permission of Trustees of British Museum

thrown by Cyrus, they had striven to recover their independence; but as they persistently acted individually instead of concertedly, Harpagus, the lieutenant of Cyrus, had no serious difficulty in reducing them, while Miletus came in of its own accord.

The several Ionian despots or tyrants secured their own authority by making friends with their respective satraps, who naturally preferred dealing with autocrats rather than democracies or oligarchical groups. Thus when, as related above, Miltiades proposed the liberation of Ionia by cutting Darius off in Scythia, the plan was rejected at the instance of Histiæus, who preferred the security of his tyranny to the "liberation of Hellas."

The despot system was convenient for the Persian government and was therefore upheld by it; but nearly every state would have welcomed the chance of ridding itself of its tyrant—and the Persian government was in general the supreme though not the only obstacle. The Persian government stood for the tyrannies. It was that fact which provided the tinder when the disappointed ambitions of a despot Aristagoras of Miletus led him to kindle the flame of the Ionian revolt that opened the secular struggle between East and West.

Political Events in Mainland Greece

In the Greek peninsula, Sparta, before the star of Cyrus rose, had, by her conquest of Argos, already achieved a military preëminence which caused Crœsus of Lydia to seek her alliance as the premier state of Hellas.

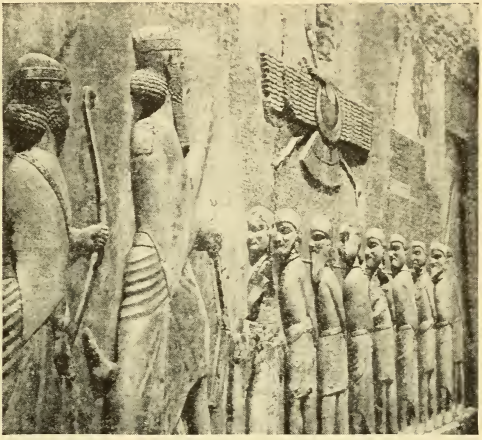
But the effective hegemony was established not by conquests but by the gradual growth of the system of alliances known as the Peloponnesian League.

Objects of the Peloponnesian League

One state after another in the Peloponnese or even outside it became, not in the strict sense a member of the league, but an ally of "the Lacedæmonians," the two parties being mutually bound to make no attack on each other and to render each other aid when attacked. The states of the group were not in form allied together, but were all the allies of Sparta. The effective predominance of the position thus secured to Sparta is obvious. When the league took action, it was as "the Lacedæmonians and their allies." If its troops took the field, they were under Spartan command and no member of the league would act against them.

The two states on the Isthmus, Corinth and Megara, were both in the league; and we shall find even Athens herself becoming a member for a time. She had not yet risen to such power as to make her Sparta's rival for the hegemony; the neighboring island of Ægina was the ally of Sparta's enemy Argos, and was also the commercial rival of Corinth and the age-long foe of Athens; so that policy encouraged friendly relations between those two states and Sparta.

Athens as yet was only one among several cities that had equal claim to recognition as being in the first rank, the preëminence of Sparta being admitted. Though a commercial and maritime state, she had not yet realized that the sea was to be the base of her power. Her democratic development—and she was far from having arrived at pure democracy—is of special interest, because, politically speaking, Athens was not the city but all Attica, so that there were regional diversities of interest to be accommodated as well as those which were common to other cities.



DARIUS AND HIS SOLDIERY

Above we see, sculptured on the towering rock of Behistun, Darius himself thanking the god Ahura-mazda (Ahriman), represented within a winged disk, for his victory over the nine satraps, who are represented roped together in subjection.

British Museum

Here we must recall three leading features of the history of Athens in the first half of the sixth century: the movement towards a democratic instead of an aristocratic constitution inaugurated by the reforms of Solon; the annexation to Athens of the island of Salamis, as the outcome of a victorious war with Megara; and the success of Peisistratus, the hero of the war, in establishing himself as tyrant.

Aristocracy versus Democracy

A COMBINATION of the aristocratic party of "the Plain" with one of the two democratic parties, "the Coast," which was led by Megacles the Alcmæonid, head of a leading but turbulent family, expelled Peisistratus after five years; five years later a reconciliation with Megacles effected a brief restoration; a fresh quarrel brought a second exile for ten years. But the third faction, "the Mountain," which had originally brought him into power, still adhered to him; and when, in 540, he reappeared in Attica with a force of mercenaries supplied by the friends abroad whom he had been assiduously cultivating, his second restoration was effected without difficulty. The Alcmæonids were exiled with their adherents. The tyranny was thoroughly established. Peisistratus himself reigned for another twelve years, and eighteen more passed before the expulsion of his son Hippias.

Peisistratus was a despot who ruled under the forms and through the machinery of the Solonian constitution, and in popular as against aristocratic interests.

Much misplaced sentiment has been lavished on the story of the expulsion of the Peisistratids. Hippias succeeding his father, ruled as a despot, but by no means tyrannically, for some fourteen years. An entirely personal quarrel, wholly discreditable to all the persons concerned, arose between the tyrant's brother Hipparchus and two of his associates, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who resolved to assassinate the brothers, of course in the name of Liberty, at the Panathenaic festival. They only succeeded in killing Hipparchus, and turning Hippias into a frightened and therefore a cruel tyrant; whereby he sealed the doom of tyranny in Athens. Four years later the Athenians, with the aid of the Spartan king Cleomenes, drove the tyrant and his family into exile, to

find an asylum within the realms of the Great King (510 B.C.).

Athens Won for Democracy

For a time Athens became a member of the Peloponnesian league. Cleisthenes, the son of Megacles, returned to lead the Alcmæonid party; the party conflicts repressed under the tyranny, revived. Despite the ill-advised intervention of the Spartan king, with support from both Thebes and Chalcis, in the domestic affairs of an allied state, the victory fell to Cleisthenes, who effected the important constitutional reforms which resulted in the Athenian state becoming the type of democracy (c. 506). Sparta herein displayed the bias which was always to be dominant in her policy, as in that of Thebes, of supporting aristocratic against democratic factions.

The outcome of the Theban intervention was the separation of the little city of Platæa, by the help of Athens, whose devoted ally she remained thenceforth, from the Bœotian confederacy headed by Thebes, of which she had been a most reluctant member.

In Italy and Sicily the cities, no less than in the east, tended to fall into the control of tyrants; among whom Phalaris of Acragas (Agrigentum) achieved a proverbial reputation for barbarous cruelty, about the middle of the century. There were the usual rivalries among the cities but no marked ascendancy until, at the beginning of the fifth century, Gelon established himself as tyrant of Syracuse, which from that time outshone its neighbors and played the leading part in the impending struggle with Carthage.

The Phœnician power materially strengthened its position in the western quarter of Sicily during the third quarter of the sixth century. The most notable events of the half century, however, took place farther afield even than Sicily.

The sea power of Carthaginians and Etruscans combined to thrust out the intrusion of the Greeks. The Phocæans of Ionia, who had already planted a colony at Alalia in Corsica, emigrated in a body to escape subjection to Persia, hoping to make of Corsica a new Phocæa; but a desperate sea fight with the combined navies of the Etruscans and Carthaginians off Alalia proved so costly that they were obliged to abandon Corsica, of which the Etruscans took possession (535), while the Phocæans moved on to found Massalia (Marseilles). The Carthaginians annexed Sardinia.

The other event of primary importance was in Italy itself. In 510 the Roman aristocrats expelled the reigning dynasty of the Tarquins, which was Etruscan, and established an aristocratic commonwealth or republic—the year that Athens expelled the Peisistratids. The picturesque legends concerning the expulsion, which became a part of the creed of every Roman and of the literature of the world, probably contained a quite substantial element of truth. Rome under able if unamiable kings was perhaps the most powerful of the states in the Latin league, which were to a great extent dominated, like Rome, by Tuscan or Tuscanizing dynasties. The Roman revolution was a heavy setback for the Etruscan ascendancy; though undoubtedly Rome had to fight hard for many years before she was secure in the liberty she had won. But the "Regifugium," the expulsion of the kings, dealt a fatal blow to the threatened domination of Italy by the non-Aryan power. Nevertheless, historical details are still too obscure for any definite record of the Roman state, which is still in an age that is half mythical.

Outbreak of the Ionic Revolt

At the end of the sixth century Darius, King of Kings, was undisputed lord of the vast empire he had won as the heir of Cambyses the son of Cyrus; an empire enormously wider than any the world had known before. Within its bounds, save on the remote barbaric frontiers, there seemed to be no possibility of dangerous revolt. It must have appeared that in course of time it was inevitably destined to absorb the world; though the only expansion the king himself had sought was the mastery of the Thracian tribes whence, almost within the memory of living men, invading hordes had wrought devastation within what were now the Great King's dominions. Nevertheless, revolt was near.

The revolt was contrived by a tyrant, fomented by the unpopularity of tyranny, and backed by the Hellenes' ingrained passion for political independence.

Aristagoras of Miletus, foiled in a

treacherous plan of aggrandizement, plunged on a scheme of organized revolt, with an organized expulsion of tyrants as its preliminary, and set on foot a diplomatic campaign in Greece proper to procure armed aid in liberating Hellenes from the "barbarian" yoke.

The tyrants were duly expelled, Aristagoras resigning his own tyranny. Sparta proved cold or cautious; Athens and Eretria sent squadrons to help the rebellion; the insurgents marched on Sardis (498) and captured the town but not the citadel; and the former Lydian capital was burnt down by a fire accidentally started. The insurgents with their allies retreated to the coast, fighting unsuccessfully with Persian troops on the way; and the Athenians and Eretrians sailed for home.

First Persian Invasion of Greece

The revolt, which had spread to Caria and Cyprus, was suppressed, not without difficulty. Cyprus was reduced by the Phœnician fleet, which also defeated the fleet of the Ionians at Lade. Miletus, the arch-offender ,was heavily smitten after a hard siege. A number of the islands were reduced. The rebels were treated with leniency on the whole.

There conceivably the matter might have ended, but for the original intervention of Athens and Eretria. That was a piece of pure impertinence which the Great King could not pardon. "Who then are these Athenians?" he asked, as Cyrus had once asked, "Who then are these Lacedæmonians?" And the exiled Hippias could answer the question. Darius, says the picturesque tradition, vowed vengeance. Meanwhile, he abolished one of the grievances of the Ionians. The rebellion had been kindled by tyrants, and in place of the tyrannies they were allowed democratic constitutions.

In fact, however, the support given to Greeks who were Persian subjects by Greeks who were not, suggested, if it did not impose, the incorporation of Hellas in the Empire. Thrace had seized the opportunity to break away, and the Scythians across the Danube were breaking in. The first step was to reëstablish mastery in Thrace and Macedon.

When the last embers of the revolt had been quenched, Darius sent a great expedition to Thrace by land and sea under Mardonius to accomplish this object (492); owing, however, to the destruction of the fleet by storms, it was only in part effected, and Darius decided no longer to defer an expedition against Eretria and Athens.

The punitive force was dispatched straight across the Ægean, preceded by a demand for "earth and water," the token of submission, from the free islands and states. The islands that refused were reduced en route by the fleet. The com-

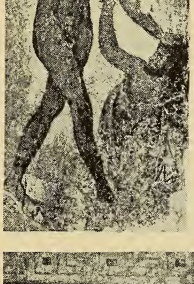
ATHENIAN POLITICAL MURDERERS

Hipparchus, brother of Hippias the Tyrant, was slain in 514 B.C., by Harmodius (sword raised) and Aristogeiton, and the Athenians erected the group, of which this is a copy, as a political memorial to the "Liberators."

After the restoration by Michaelis at Strasbourg

manders, Datis and Artaphernes, were accompanied by the old ex-tyrant Hippias, who was to be reinstalled in a humiliated Athens. On reaching Eubœa the Persians laid siege to Eretria, which resisted stubbornly. Then, by the advice of Hippias, they landed part of their forces under Datis on the northern part of the plain of Marathon in the northeastern corner of Attica, in order to prevent the Athenians coming to the aid of Eretria.

SPARTA had promised Athens her aid—after the full moon; so Athens took the field alone, save that she was joined by a gallant contingent from little Platæa, heroically loyal to her benefactress.

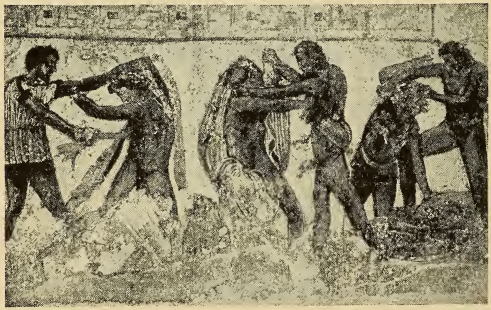


The quickest way from Athens to Eubœa cuts across the Attic peninsula to the ferry at Chalcis. The Athenian force, which was presumably marching by this road, suddenly discovered that a Persian army, perhaps outnumbering them by five to one (though modern computation has reduced the odds to three to two) had occupied the plain of Marathon, whence an easy coast road leads to Athens. Consequently they swung aside to the right and came down on Marathon by a hill path, occupying an impregnable pass overlooking the plain; and the position was stalemate. The Persians, content in that they had kept the Athenians out of Eubœa, and denuded Athens of its defenders, would not attack, but awaited the fall of Eretria; the Athenians were not to be enticed from their position, since every day brought nearer the promised reinforcement from Sparta; and neither side could move without exposing rear or flank to the enemy.

At last news came of the fall of Eretria and the embarkation of Artaphernes for Athens. The Athenians must attack now or never, with or without the Spartans. Their spearmen, whose strength had been deliberately or accidentally thrown into the wings, coming to close quarters, charged. Their weakened center was pushed back, but the wings shattered the Persian line and drove it into the sea. The rest of the Persian army hastily embarked, the ships picking up as many fugitives as could reach them, but leaving more than 6,000 slain on the shore. The Athenian loss was less than two hundred.

The fleet of Artaphernes, joined by Datis, sailed round the promontory of Sunium, perhaps hoping to find the city undefended; but the victors, marching on the day of the battle, were there before them. The Persians, not caring to attempt a landing in the circumstances, and possibly warned of the belated approach of the Lacedæmonians, gave up the whole adventure and returned to Asia.

Marathon could be looked upon as no more than an initial defeat for the Persians



ROMAN LEGEND IN AN ETRUSCAN TOMB

This fourth-century fresco in an Etruscan tomb depicts an episode in the half mythical history of Etruria and Rome. Cneve Tarchu Rumach (upper), that is Gnæus Tarquinius Romanus, may be Tarquinius Priscus, the first Etruscan king of Rome; another figure (Macstrna), his successor Servius Tullius.

From Rostovtzeff, "The Ancient World: Rome," Oxford University Press

PLAIN OF MARATHON WHERE THE GREEKS ROUTED THE PERSIANS

Early in the fifth century, a Persian army invaded Greece and was met by an Athenian force under Callimachus and Miltiades. The Persians encamped on the coastal plain of Marathon, and the Athenians, outnumbered by three to two at least, faced them from the mouth of a pass. Most of the fighting was on the flanks and eventually the invaders were driven back to their ships with heavy loss; but they were to return in greater strength ten years later.

which would inevitably be followed by an attack on a much greater scale. But it was in actual fact very much more. It was a revelation. Single-handed, the city of Athens had utterly routed a force larger than her own of the picked Persian troops hitherto reputed invincible. The armament of Greek hoplites had decisively proved its vast superiority to anything the Persians could put in the field. The fact had never been put to the proof before. And it was Athens, not Sparta, that had dared the hazard unaided, and vindicated the superiority of the Hellene over the Barbarian. By that feat Athens acquired a prestige undreamed of hitherto. However honest were the religious scruples that had delayed the Spartans, the fact remained that they arrived only when the foe was already in full flight, and they could only compliment the Athenians on their prowess and go home.

There could be no doubt, then, in the minds of the Greeks after Marathon, that Persia would ere long set about the punishment of Athens for the reverse she had dared to inflict upon Persian prestige, or that the subjugation of Hellas would be included in her program, to prevent the repetition of such incidents. Hellas would certainly be absorbed piecemeal, unless by a great coördinated effort she could inflict a permanently decisive defeat on the empire which commanded all the resources of Asia.

Persia, however, was unable to act at once, trouble having arisen in Egypt. Her action was further postponed by the death of her great ruler Darius (486 B.C.) while Egypt was still unsettled; and the task of subduing Hellas was left to his son Xerxes.

The delay made possible an invaluable development at Athens. In the interval she transformed herself from a second-class into a first-class naval power; a development which she owed to the acutest and most brilliant intellect that ever dominated her politics—Themistocles. It was he who realized that in her rivalry with her neighbors the means to ascendancy must be found in a supreme fleet and that the possession of a superior fleet was essential to the defeat of Persia. The fleet

that had brought the Persians to Marathon came unopposed and departed unmolested; that was not to happen again. A windfall —the discovery of a rich vein of silver at Laurium—brought a large sum to the treasury, which instead of being distributed was appropriated to shipbuilding; there was a large sea-going population; and in the ten years after Marathon the primacy of the Athenian fleet was admitted.

PLAN OF MARATHON

The Athenians camped at Vrana: the Persians were drawn up in the plain. Both armies closed a road to Athens. When the Greeks attacked their center gave but their flanks conquered; the tumulus covers their heroic dead.

The invasion which by this time Xerxes had made ready was on lines no doubt laid down by Darius. A vast army—the error of under-rating the fighting power of the Greeks was not to be repeated—was to march through Thrace, attended by a great fleet. The actual facts were of course exaggerated and most picturesquely adorned by Greek imagination; half a million men summoned from all parts of the great empire, including India—one-tenth of the estimate of Herodotus—is not perhaps an excessive estimate of the total numbers, though again a modern computation has reduced it to 180,000 effectives.

Most of the Hellenic free states rejected the preliminary demand for earth and water. A congress of the states, called by Sparta and Athens, conferred on Sparta the command by land and sea, Athens waiving her obvious claim to naval control in the interest of unity.

The princes of Thessaly, on which the first onslaught would fall, made the common protection of their frontier a condition of their adherence; but when it was found that the pass of Tempe on the northern border could be turned, Thessaly had to be abandoned, and the "pass" of Thermopylæ, between the mountains and the Maliac gulf, was substituted as the next gateway that could be held. If that went, everything north of the isthmus of Corinth would go.

Xerxes crossed the Hellespont in the spring of 480; in August the army had rolled down to Thermopylæ. The force, mainly Peloponnesian troops, sent forward under the Spartan king Leonidas to hold the pass, was only 6,000 strong, the contingent of Phocians having been detached to guard an alternative path inland through the hills by which it was possible to gain the south via Phocis. The Athenians were on the fleet, whose business it was to prevent the Persian fleet from supporting the army, a business which in fact it accomplished not brilliantly but still successfully.

On two successive days attempts were made to storm the fortified position in the pass by frontal attacks, without making any impression. Then the existence of a mountain track to the rear of the Spartan position, diverging from the path guarded by the Phocians, was betrayed to the Persians; a picked column was sent to carry it, and the Phocians, thinking that their homeland was threatened, retreated. The rear being open, Leonidas sent away some two-thirds of his force, or less, retaining his three hundred Spartans, a thousand Laconians, the very loyal Thespians and the very half-hearted Thebans; probably in the hope that the others would be able to cover his rear. But they, coming into collision with the Persian turning column, were driven off.

Whether retreat was or was not possible, the pass could no longer be held;

surrender was not to be thought of, and Leonidas with his three hundred, leaving the fortified position, charged down on the vast Persian host, and fought shoulder to shoulder till every man was slain. The Thebans were later reputed to have surrendered ignominiously, since the city "Medised"; the rest fought behind the defenses to the last. No doubt there was a tremendous slaughter of the barbarians. No doubt, too, the last stand was, strategically speaking, a futile waste of life. But the name of Thermopylæ still rings across the ages, an impelling inspiration to heroic self-sacrifice.

Greek Naval Victory at Salamis

THE force which held Thermopylæ and had now been wiped out was only an advance guard whose supports had tarried; but the gate having been forced the Peloponnesians would not attempt to defend the country north of the Isthmus. It submitted perforce to the Persians, who found, however, that the Athenians had taken to their ships and had transferred non-combatants and, so far as was possible, property, to Ægina and Salamis. The fleet, of which the Athenians formed more than half, had fallen back when Thermopylæ was lost, to cover the Isthmus.

The Isthmus might be impenetrable, fortified as it was; but unless the great Persian fleet met with a heavy defeat, it might land a host on the shores of the Peloponnese. For its defeat it must be inveigled into fighting a decisive battle in the narrows about Salamis, so that its overwhelming numbers could not come into play. Yet all the persuasive powers of Themistocles would have failed to convince the Peloponnesians of the necessity, if the Persians themselves had not played into his hands—beguiled, it was said, by an apparently treasonable message from the wily Athenian himself—by blocking the exit through which the Greeks purposed withdrawing, and themselves delivering battle in the narrows.

The victory won by the Greeks was complete and decisive. The Ionian squadron, compelled to serve in the Great King's navy, fought instead for the freeing of Hellas. The ships were too crowded for maneuvering, and the Greeks proved more expert in ramming and boarding than their adversaries. The Persian fleet was not annihilated, but it was broken up and demoralized past hope.

TUMULUS ON THE PLAIN OF MARATHON COVERING THE HEROIC DEAD

On the southeast side of the battle-ground near the shore rises the mound wherein lie the remains of 192 Athenians killed in the famous struggle with the Persians. The topographical position may well mark the strategic one where the Athenian center, thinned by over-extension of the line, broke, but the victorious flanks, instead of plundering the ships, turned inwards and overwhelmed the Persians who were pursuing their comrades inland towards Vrana.

Photo, Mansell

And for Hellas the splendid disaster of Thermopylæ was more than avenged.

Salamis was a victory not merely brilliant, but as concerned maritime ascendancy decisive. Of the war as a whole, however, it was no more decisive than a Trafalgar, and no less. The great undefeated army of Persia was in occupation of the major part of Greece, though, unsupported by a fleet, the maintenance of supplies for so large a force became a serious problem. But as yet there was not sufficient ground for abandoning the scheme of conquest.

Cunning Tactics of Mardonius

THE divisions in the counsels of the Greeks were notorious, and the blindness of the Peloponnesians to the need of protecting anything outside the Peloponnese itself was conspicuous. The quality of the Lacedæmonian soldiery was above praise, as Thermopylæ had proved, but they were almost without cavalry.

Mardonius, left in command of a still huge force, fell back to Thebes and Thessaly for the winter, on account of supplies. To Athens he made extremely attractive overtures to detach her from her allies, which she loyally rejected; nevertheless when Mardonius reoccupied Attica in the spring of 479, it was only by her threat of withdrawal that Sparta was induced to bring up the Peloponnesian forces for the defense of Attica, Megaris and Platæa, under the command of Pausanias, the kinsmen and guardian of the actual king, the young heir of Leonidas. The whole Greek force may have numbered from 70,000 to 100,000, the Persian total from 150,000 to 300,000.

Now, however, the activity of the fleet was renewed, and the actual share of Athens in the land campaign was a minor one. Platæa was won by the generalship of Pausanias and the valor and discipline of the Lacedæmonians and their comrades in arms from Tegea.

Persians Shattered at Plataea

IN the maneuvering which preceded the battle both the Persian and the Spartan showed high ability. Each strove to entice the other into delivering the attack upon the ground where his own troops—the cavalry of one, the heavy infantry of the other—would have the advantage; neither wished to open the attack. Mardonius was the more successful in maneuvering the adversary out of skilfully chosen positions; and when Mardonius did actually make the attack, it was because, in consequence of orders being either misunderstood or disobeyed, the Lacedæmonians, with the Tegeans, were isolated, and the movement of the Greek forces which was in progress was thrown into confusion.

But practically single-handed the Lacedæmonians routed the attack and drove their way into the Persian camp, the already delayed reinforcements being again held up for a time by those Greek troops which had Medised. A panic ensued when Mardonius himself fell. Artabazus, the second in command, who had kept a large division out of action, withdrew it in good order, but attempted nothing more than to

GREEK EQUIPMENT

The Greeks owed their victory at Marathon largely to the superior equipment of their heavy-armed soldiers. This bronze statuette from Dodona shows just such a "hoplite" armed with breastplate, greaves and Bœotian shield.

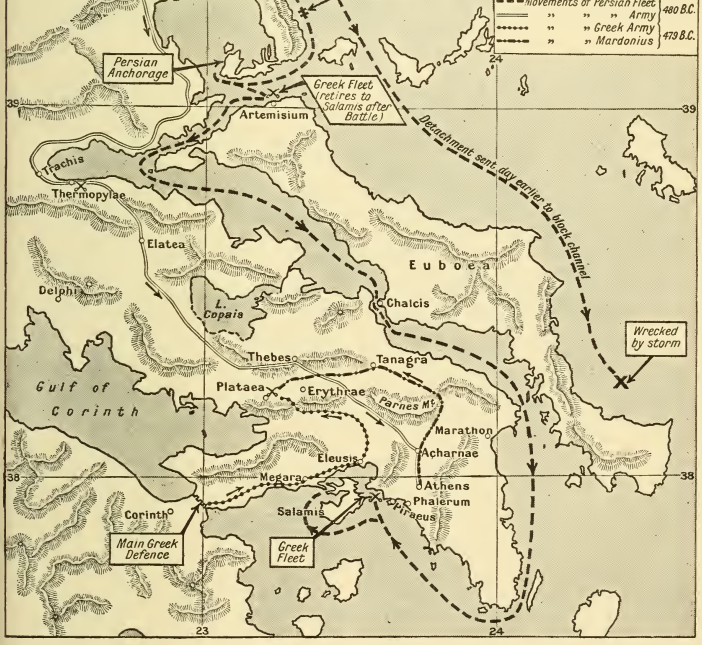
Berlin Museum (cast)

draw together what he could of the scattered remnants of the once mighty host, and hurry it back to Asia. Persia had put forth all her powers, and she had failed; failed so utterly and so disastrously that the attempt was never renewed.

Fleet Operations in the Aegean

THE finishing touches were given by the fleet operations. Persian forces were mustered at Mycale in Asia Minor facing the island of Samos to overawe the Ionians, their fleet being beached. Thither, in answer to an appeal from Samos, moved the Greek fleet from its station at Delos, found a suitable spot for disembarking, and thence marched its force on the encampment at Mycale, which was duly stormed and carried, the Ionians, of course, for the most part joining their brethren.

Mycale, however, had the effect of kindling a fresh Ionian revolt that brought further prestige to Athens. Sparta, now



PLAN OF THE MEMORABLE CAMPAIGN THAT DECIDED THE FATE OF EUROPE

The Peloponnese being impregnable by land but completely vulnerable by sea, the Greek plan was to defeat the Persian fleet in the narrow waters to the north of Eubœa, while holding up the army at Thermopylæ. The naval engagement at Artemisium, however, was inconclusive while Thermopylæ proved a minor disaster, so Central Greece had to be abandoned; the Greek fleet, pursued by the Persians, retired to Salamis, there to repeat its tactics with complete success (480 B.C.). The following year, after Mardonius had reoccupied Athens, saw the decisive Greek victory at Platæa.

that the Peloponnese was safe, had no mind to oversea ventures; but Athens threw herself into the cause with zeal and profit. The capture of Sestus, in effect by the Athenians, gave them the control of the Hellespont (479-8). In another respect it marked a turning-point. From that time the hegemony of the maritime states, abdicated by Sparta, passed, de facto if not de jure, to the great democracy. The freedom of Ionia was won by the energy and under the leadership not of Sparta, but of Athens.

PLAN OF THE THERMOPYLÆ COUNTRY

Leonidas held Thermopylæ, but Trachis must have been garrisoned to guard the equally important Asopus pass. After desultory fighting the path Anopæa was betrayed, and a picked body of Persian "Immortals," slipping past Trachis at night, came down behind the Spartans at daybreak.

Carthage and Etruria Assert Themselves

PRECISELY at the moment of the great Perso-Hellenic struggle, a corresponding contest between Orientalism and what we may perhaps call Europeanism—between Aryan and non-Aryan, rather—was taking place in the west. Carthage struck for the lordship of Sicily; the Etruscans were battling for the lordship of Italy, not to win a new domination but to retain a tottering ascendancy.

The north of the island of Sicily as far west as Himera was under Greek domination, the south as far as Selinus; the western end was the Phœnician sphere, which had now become definitely the Carthaginian. When the fifth century opened there was no immediate expectation of the collision which sooner or later was inevitable.

The Greek states were more conscious of their own mutual rivalries than of the common rival. Tyrannies were established, at Rhegium on the Italian side of the strait of Messina by Anaxilas in 493, and by Hippocrates in 492, at Gela on the south coast of Sicily. Each had the idea of absorbing other states under his own sovereignty as vassals or dependents.

About 485 Hippocrates died, and a very distinguished officer, Gelon, maneuvered himself into the succession to the tyrannis. He succeeded in capturing for himself the tyrannis of Syracuse; making that city his capital, and handing over Gela to his brother Hieron as his lieutenant or viceroy. Obviously he aimed at making himself overlord of the whole island. Syracuse was thenceforth the leading power in the island of Sicily.

Then in collusion with Anaxilas Carthage launched a great expedition to Sicily under Hamilcar—a name very prominent in Carthaginian history.

Carthaginian Disaster in Sicily

GELON had only just declined to send forces to aid Hellas against the impending Persian invasion, unless claims put forward by himself to the general leadership were admitted.

Anaxilas took no active part in the campaign, though we may well suppose that it was fear of what he might do that kept the Syracusan fleet from meeting the Carthaginians on the seas. The expedition,

HOW TIME CAN ALTER THE FEATURES OF HISTORIC TERRAIN

Leonidas can only have hoped to hold up the Persians in the narrow strip between mountain and sea called "The Gates," or Thermopylæ, while the fleets were fighting out the more important issue at Artemisium. As the Persian fleet was not destroyed, his position would have been hopeless even had the path Anopæa remained unbetrayed. To-day his whole task would have been impossible, for the retreat of the sea has turned Thermopylæ into a plain where many armies might deploy.

though it met with heavy losses from storms, reached its western port, Panormus, otherwise unmolested. Thence by land and sea it advanced on Himera. The fall of Himera seemed imminent before Gelon was satisfied that he could strike decisively; but when he did arrive, just in time, the blow he dealt was crushing. The expeditionary force was virtually annihilated, no second blow was needed, and nearly a century passed before the Sicilian Greeks again felt themselves in danger from Carthage. But the Carthaginians were left in their settlements and there was no thought of a counter-invasion of Africa. Two years later Gelon died, and was succeeded in his supremacy by his brother Hieron, tyrant of Gela.

The whole episode was roughly speaking contemporary with the campaign which opened with Thermopylæ and ended with Salamis. Tradition declared that Himera and Salamis were fought on the same day, just as it did of Platæa and Mycale.

Events in Etruria and Latium

The Etruscans who, as we saw, had joined forces with the Phœnician power to exclude the intruding Greeks from the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, took no part in the Sicilian affair. They were concerned not with Greece but with Rome. Rome with her grip on the Tiber, and her affinities with both Latins and Sabines, was the power that threatened the Tuscan domination. Rome, which had succeeded in freeing itself from its Etruscan rulers, became the natural center of resistance when all prospect of a Tarquin restoration had disappeared, about the first decade of the fifth century.

The popular traditions of later years are the sole but uncertain authority for the actual events of Roman history at this period. Quite certainly the monarchy was displaced by an aristocracy of birth, ruling by the unique system of double magistracies, to which appointment was made at first exclusively from among the aristocrats, the "patrician" houses; elected annually by the votes of the free citizens, but in practice responsible to the Senate—a patrician body composed mainly of officials and ex-officials. Legislation, initiated only by the magistrates, had to be submitted to the assembly of citizens known as the Comitia Centuriata.

The commons or "plebs," however, had been active in the revolt against the Tarquins; Brutus, the hero of the tradition, was not of patrician family; at the very early stage, the commons began to

claim political rights monopolized by the patricians.

Party Rivalry in Rome

THE struggle between the "Orders" was a long one; but the first definite victory of the plebs is dated as early as 494. The citizen-soldiery returning from a victorious campaign threatened to leave Rome in a body unless reforms were granted; and the result of their secession to the "Sacred Mount" was the concession to the plebs of officers of their own called Tribunes, with powers of intervention to veto legislation and curb arbitrary action to the injury of plebeians on the part of the patrician magistrates.

The traditions regarding the time are also full of more or less legendary tales of the wars of the Romans with rival Tuscan or Sabellian states, with Veii, the Æqui or the Volscians; of which perhaps the most famous is the story of Coriolanus.

To the fifth century we should probably attribute the early stages of the Celtic or Gallic immigration which we shall presently find in occupation of all north Italy between the Alps and Apennines, the region soon to be known as Cisalpine Gaul. But the pressure from them was not felt in central Italy for another half-century.

Orientalism has met with its first decisive defeat in the west, and the stage is cleared for Hellenism: for its intellectual glory and for its political failure —and this is the main theme of our next chapter.

THE GREEK CITY STATES AT THE TIME OF THE PERSIAN WAR

AN OUTLINE OF THE GROWTH OF THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE GREEKS FROM MONARCHY TO DEMOCRACY

By W. R. HALLIDAY

Rathbone Professor of Ancient History in the University of Liverpool; Author of The Growth of the City State, etc.

When Darius the Great came to undertake the organization of this vast empire, which stretched from the shores of the Aegean to the Punjab, the Greeks presented to him a pressing and most complicated problem. It was pressing because the Persian conquest of Asia Minor had necessarily involved the conquest of its sea-board and thus had made the Greek states of the coast his subjects. It was complicated because the circumstances and the characteristics of the Greeks were completely unlike those of any other nationality with which he had hitherto had to deal.

The Greek world then consisted of an aggregate of very small city states, politically independent of each other. In all there was a conscious pride in their common Hellenism, but each was primarily absorbed in its own very concentrated political activities, in the narrow terms of which it was liable to misjudge or to ignore wider issues; and each was intensely impatient of interference with or abrogation of its complete political independence.

The object of this chapter will be to trace the evolution of the normal city state through various successive forms of government. We may then examine a particular example, the evolution of Athenian democracy. Finally, we must discuss the real importance of the political ideas which were thus worked out by the Greek city states, noticing the limitations necessarily imposed by the very small scale upon which these experiments in the forms of government were carried out.

The Homeric poems depict a relatively primitive society, which is organized primarily for war, retains a good many characteristics of semi-nomadic life, and is tribal and patriarchal in structure. The new conditions imposed by the adoption of a settled and peaceful mode of life, in the period which followed that of the migrations, were bound to lead to modification. Indeed, the beginnings of the necessary consequences of a change from a wandering to a static existence are apparent even in Homer.

Actually, our earliest records reveal to us a society which had progressed a good way beyond the most rigid and primitive form of tribal society. In religion the various Achaean tribes already acknowledge a common reverence and pay a common worship to certain generally recognized divinities, and the stranger is regarded as being under the protection of Zeus, the Father of Gods and Men, and therefore as possessing certain minimum rights to fair treatment.

No doubt common co-operation in joint ventures and the hazards of eventful life in the Heroic Age helped in practice to bring about a wider and more generous outlook. But to the end the Greeks never wholly rid themselves of the feeling that citizenship was essentially a matter of kinship by blood, that the state was, in fact, a family upon a large scale. We may also notice that throughout Greek history the tendency of all political associations and social groups was to center round the joint worship of some particular common deity.

The structure of tribal society is patriarchal and aristocratic. In the family the father, in the larger social groups their respective headmen, will have authority. The relation of the king ('basileus') to the members of the whole community will be that of the father of a family to his children and dependents. The heroic king, then, is the father of his people, and his functions will fall into three categories, those of priest, general and judge.

FORCING-HOUSE OF CIVIC EXPERIMENTS: GREECE AND ITS CITY STATES

The dotted lines on this map, demarcating the areas attached to the city states, emphasize the complicated political structure of Ancient Greece, divided as it was into tiny cantons each with an intense and fervently independent civic life of its own. Certain backward territories, such as Thessaly, Aetolia, Elis, Arcadia, were larger; of the rest, the only areas of any size were Laconia, through Spartan conquest, Boeotia, through partial federation of the constituent cities, and Attica, through identification of rural interests with the policy of Athens.

A professional priesthood is already emerging in Homeric times, but, both then and throughout Greek history, the professional religious expert was never more than the skilled assistant of the secular head of the state, upon whom fell the responsibility for the maintenance of right relations between the community and Heaven.

Although this monarchy was generally hereditary, in the society portrayed in the Odyssey heredity constitutes a claim, but a claim which can be set aside. Indeed, in the earliest recorded period the aristocracy is already encroaching upon the privileges of monarchy. The king is but 'primus inter pares,' and the relation of the 'basileus' with his barons, who also called themselves 'basileis,' seems to have resembled that of Agamemnon with the confederate chieftains before Troy.

In deciding upon important matters of policy custom ordained that the king should consult the experience of the community, which was embodied in a council of the old wise men. When the king and council have decided upon a policy, it may be submitted to a mass meeting of the fighting men, but the powers of this assembly are strictly limited to expressing approval or disapproval. The assembly can dissent but cannot discuss.

After the turmoil of the age of migrations had subsided, there was a change from a normal state of war to one of comparative peace and from a wandering to a settled life. Now, in its physical aspect Greece consists of a tangled mass of limestone mountains enclosing small pockets of arable land, which are usually open upon one side to the sea. Necessarily, for life cannot be supported upon limestone crags, it was upon these small stretches of arable land that settlements were made. The physical barriers of the mountains tended to separate the dwellers in each of these plains from those in the next, and so promoted that fierce love of independence which is so often a characteristic, for this very reason, of those who inhabit mountainous areas.

This physical division of the country into compartments also promoted a concentration within each of them. The concentration was, for obvious reasons, easiest in the smallest. Of the larger contiguous habitable areas, Athens eventually succeeded in uniting the whole of Attica in a single state. In the Boeotian plain, on the other hand, Thebes was never successful in concentrating the government of the whole area in her own hands. A number of cities had succeeded in establishing themselves, and Thebes, though she became the dominant member in a federation, never proved strong enough completely to absorb them.

But how had these cities come into being? The earliest settlements were undoubtedly in villages, and some areas (for example, Elis until the fifth century) remained organized in country districts down to historical times. But in general a group of villages found it convenient to fortify some hill or strongly defensible position in their plain, to the shelter of which their women and cattle might be sent when their neighbors crossed the mountain on a summer raid. Such, for instance, was the Acropolis at Athens, a steep rocky hill with precipices upon three sides. In this stronghold was usually placed the temple of the god and the palace of the king.

A natural tendency then arose for the commonalty to leave their villages for dwellings near to the city of refuge, and from there to go out daily to their fields; while the nobles found it convenient to establish themselves round the king and the center of government. In this way a lower town ('asty' is the Greek word) developed round the citadel or 'polis.' In course of time a wall of fortifications was erected round the asty, and we have then the normal type of Greek city—a town surrounded by walls with a citadel in the middle.

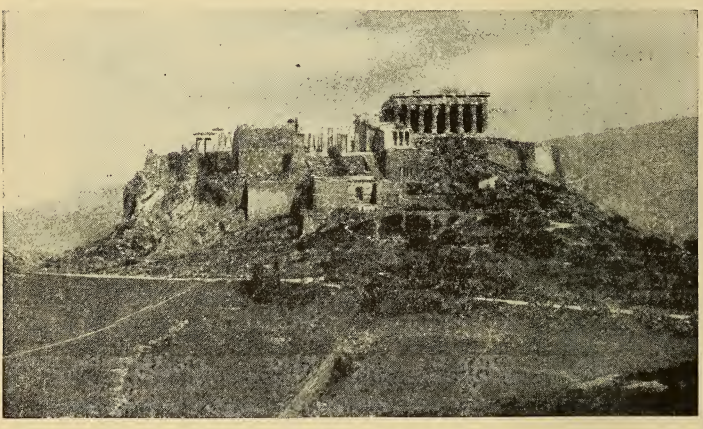
This concentration of population and government in a single fortified town seems normally to have been effected under the monarchy. But if this development was promoted by the kings, it proved in fact fatal to their pretensions. The heroic monarchy rested upon sanctions of military prestige and traditional reverence. In peace the king no longer enjoyed the authority conferred by the prowess and leadership of the wandering chieftain of the Dark Ages; and the claims of a divine descent, and of an inherent personal quality distinguishing royalty from mere ordinary mortals, were put to the test of daily contact in the peaceful life of a little town.

Meantime, life in the city became more complicated, and the duties which the magistrate was called upon to fulfill increased in number and difficulty. Hence arose the tendency to appoint supplementary officers to take over some parts of the king's duties, and in this way the monarchy was put into commission. That is to say, a number of magistrates came to take the place of the single life magistrate.

In most of the Greek states by the eighth century the monarchy had disappeared, the place of the king being taken by a number of magistrates of whom one still retained the royal title but not its powers. The king's advisory council of elder nobles remained, and to this, in reality, the power in the state now passed, just as at Rome the similar council, the Senate, came at the fall of the monarchy to exercise control in public affairs. The reasons for this ascendency are not difficult to detect.

Though it would seem that in the first instance the magistrates who replaced the king were appointed for life, a high age qualification was probably demanded, so that their actual tenure of office was not comparable to that of an hereditary king. In any case the tendency was for length of tenure to be reduced, until eventually an annual magistracy became the general rule. Further, in Athens, and possibly elsewhere, an arrangement similar to the Roman practice was adopted, whereby the vacancies in the council were filled up by ex-magistrates.

Now under the monarchy the council had enjoyed considerable power. True, it was only an advisory body, which could meet only when the king summoned it; but custom and public opinion demanded that in affairs of importance it should in fact be consulted. The king had been a single magistrate holding office for life. The magistracy was now weakened by division and, in the Greek states which here present a contrast to Rome, by a limitation of function, each magistrate enjoying but a portion of the king's power. It was weakened also by the limitation of tenure. The council now represented the permanent element in the



STRONGHOLD THAT FORMED THE NUCLEUS OF THE CITY OF ATHENS

In the union of villages clustered about a common place of refuge the Greek city state had its origin. Athens, for example, was formed by the growth of the settlements made round the Acropolis—a natural fastness, occupied by a lord and his followers and strengthened by fortification. On it were built the shrines of the community—not the temples whose ruins are seen here, for these are comparatively late, belonging to the period of the city's greatness in the fifth century B.C.

Photo, Alinari

constitution, in which magistrates held office only for one year.

It had the prestige of a corporation consisting of ex-officials and did actually represent the political experience of the community. While it remained technically an advisory body, it was, nevertheless, obvious that the temporary magistrate would invariably ask the advice of a group of statesmen of whom all had had experience of executive office, and whose ranks he hoped himself to join for the rest of his life when his year of office was over. Under such conditions not only will its advice be asked, but in practice, when given, will have the force of a command.

In such early aristocratic constitutions of which we have record the main features are the restriction of political rights to a relatively small number of persons belonging to certain families; the entrusting of the political power to a smaller executive committee (sixty is a favorite number), the members of which are normally appointed for life though a relatively high age qualification is almost always demanded; and lastly the very strict subordination of the magistrates to this body.

Aristocracy contains within itself the seeds of weakness. Insistence upon the maintenance of its exclusive monopolies will create discontent outside its ranks, while its insistence upon absolute equality within the order will lead to internal disunion and dissensions. All governments by a class, and this would be as true of Labor as of Aristocracy, tend to harden into selfishness. Interest is concentrated upon the maintenance of privileges to the neglect of responsibilities, and the advantage of the class tends to obscure that of the state.

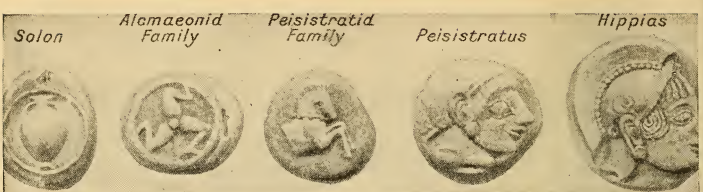
But further, times were changing and new economic and social conditions were emerging. A form of government which attempted to ignore the new conditions, which looked to the past and not to the present or the future, could not hope to endure. We may first notice a change in the art of warfare which considerably and adversely affected the prestige of aristocracy. Though the importance of cavalry survived longer under the rather different conditions of Asia Minor and southern Italy, in the Greek mainland the knights disappeared and the effective army of the normal city state came to consist of a homogeneous, heavy-armed citizen infantry, drawn not from the aristocracy, but from all except the very poorest members of the community. This change had inevitably a levelling tendency and at once deprived the hereditary aristocracy of special grounds for prestige and at the same time raised the importance of the lower middle class.

Economic changes, too, had taken place which profoundly altered the aspect of society. It is possible that originally the available arable land, after certain demesnes had been set aside for the gods and the chieftains, was divided up into strips for the cultivation of which families, not individuals, were responsible: the mountain pasture remained, of course, common land. It was, however, inevitable that the head of the family, who was responsible for the actual administration of the family holding, should come to be regarded as its owner. In any case, we have no certain evidence of a time when the private ownership of land was not normal in Greece. An increasing inequality of distribution was a necessary consequence; for the Greeks did not artificially keep estates intact by a system of primogeniture.

Over-population and agricultural distress then drove the Greeks to sea. They became a nation of merchants, and discovered in commerce and in the carrying trade a new source of wealth. In the middle of the eighth century began the great colonization movement, which further relieved the economic pressure. In turn colonization and commerce mutually stimulated each other; finally in the seventh century came the general adoption of money as the principal medium of exchange.

The new conditions had afforded opportunities to men of no hereditary claim. The wealthy no longer solely consisted of hereditary landowners, and the new wealth began to demand the share of political recognition which its actual importance to the community justified. A new social class had come into being, which necessarily asserted its claim to political rights.

The influence of colonization, too, was anti-aristocratic. This did not depend primarily upon the form of government adopted in the new settlements, where



TANGIBLE MEMORIALS OF THE STATESMEN AND TYRANTS OF ATHENS

Best known of the Athenian series of coins was the tetradrachm struck by Peisistratus, first and greatest of the Athenian tyrants. It bore the head of Athena on the obverse, and the city badge of an owl on the reverse. The same design appears on the tetradrachm struck by Hippias, his son and successor in the Tyrannis. The devices of three legs and the half of a galloping horse on other coins were perhaps badges of the Alcmaeonid and Peisistratid ruling families.

British and Berlin Museums; coin of Hippias, Gulbenkian Collection

indeed the first settlers tended to form a close ring, which attempted to keep the political control in their own hands. But this form of aristocracy was not quite the same in character as the old hereditary aristocracies of the mother states, and if the colonization movement showed anything, it showed clearly that political energy and ability were not necessarily confined to the members of a particular small group of families; for many whose merits brought them to the front in the new settlements did not belong to the privileged families in the mother country.

In most of the Greek states aristocracy clung desperately to its position. As a result the state was torn by factions, none of which was sufficiently strong to gain a permanent and decisive victory. The anarchy which ensued was usually ended, as anarchy which has exceeded certain limits can only be effectively ended, by a personal autocracy, the form of government which the Greeks, using a word borrowed from Asia Minor, described as tyranny. In the period covered by the last half of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth, most Greek states passed through the stage of government by tyranny.

In English the words 'tyrant' and 'tyranny' possess an evil connotation. Originally the word was ethically colorless, but its bad associations are, nevertheless, derived from the later Greek view of tyrants and tyranny. The tradition indeed exhibits a prejudice against these early tyrants. Partly that may be due to the fact that the material of early history is drawn mainly from the family traditions of their enemies, the aristocrats. But the objection of the Greek political philosophers to tyranny goes deeper than any accident of tradition. They rightly perceived that tyranny, the rule, that is to say, of an individual whose power is irresponsible and whose authority rests solely on his possession of the military force requisite to assert it, is a direct negation of the fundamental view of society, which is perhaps the most valuable contribution of Greece to political thought.

As an ideal form of government it would indeed be difficult to defend autocracy of this kind, but on the other hand we must notice that the rule of the tyrants actually resulted in a definite advancement of Greek civilization, and also that temporary autocracy was a necessary stage at that particular point in the evolution of the Greek polity.

Actually the strong hand of the tyrants restored unity to the Greek states. The factions were crushed, and the power of the old hereditary aristocracies was broken. For though there are subsequent struggles between conservative and democratic parties in the Greek states, the line of cleavage, mainly one of economic condition, is different from that of the early struggle between the privileged and the unprivileged classes. Again, by breaking down parties and reducing the citizens to an equality of servitude, the tyrant paved the way in many states for democracy.

It was a feature of the tyrant's policy to adorn his city with magnificent public works and to surround his person with the glamor of a luxurious court. The concentration of capital in the hands of a single individual autocrat supplied the necessary funds and enabled the tyrant to be a generous patron of art. Thus it comes about that the age of the tyrants witnessed a great artistic advance.

In conclusion, we may notice that the energetic foreign policy of the tyrants turned the attention of Greek statesmen to interests beyond the borders of their own city. Henceforward the units in the Greek political world, which up to this point have developed along parallel lines but in relative independence, become interlocked.

Tyranny was short lived, and the Sicyonian dynasty which endured a century was in this exceptional. The usual history of the fall of tyranny, though in some cases external intervention plays a part, is the formation of a plot against the person of some member of the royal family, usually upon grounds of a personal quarrel. If the plot fails, the ruler shows his weaker character by losing his nerve. He sees plots everywhere and relies increasingly upon his secret police and his mercenary soldiers. A weak ruler who is badly frightened invariably produces a reign of terror, and his fall by assassination or expulsion is but a question of time.

Athens passed through these normal stages of constitutional development, though in each case rather later than most of her neighbors. The reason is probably because monarchy here endured longer, faced, as it was, with the more lengthy and formidable task of uniting the whole of Attica under one government. That Attica originally consisted of a number of independent communities there is no doubt, and tradition attributed the final union of the whole area under a single government at Athens to the legendary king Theseus.

At Athens the monarchy was gradually put into commission. Tradition says that a succession of unmilitary kings led to the appointment of a 'polemarch' or general. Next, to assist the king in his judicial duties, an 'archon' (the word

ATHENIAN TYRANT'S POLITIC BUT ARTISTIC GIFT TO HIS SUBJECTS

In common with most Greek despots, Peisistratus seems to have taken pride in the adornment of his city. Even his reform of the Athenian water-system afforded opportunity for display in the embellishment of the public fountain Enneacrounos, the 'Nine-Spouts'—one of the means by which the contents of the reservoirs were distributed. It consisted of a handsome courtyard—one aspect of which is given in this vase painting—containing nine carven jets whence water trickled into jars.

From Antike Denkmäler

means 'ruler') was added. In the first instance these three magistrates held office for life, but in the eighth century the tenure was reduced to one of ten years, and finally in 680 B.C. six additional 'thesmothetae' (lawgivers) were created, and all nine offices were made annual appointments.

These and their six colleagues, who were of lesser importance, were chosen from the wealthy aristocrats, and they passed when their year of office was over into the aristocratic Council which at Athens, as elsewhere, now really controlled the state. This Council, at any rate from the time of Solon, was called the Council of the Areopagus, from the place of its meeting.

About 621 B.C. a great popular victory was gained with the codification and publication of the law by Draco. Later generations, impressed with the severity of an early code, declared that 'Draco's laws were written in blood'; but the mere fact that the law was now defined, and its content made public, was a very real popular advance.

Important gain though it was, the publication of the law could not cure the ills of a state in which the conditions were of the kind which we have seen elsewhere to lead to tyranny, and in 594 Solon attempted to attack the problems of the day, which he rightly perceived to be partly economic and partly political.

The most far-reaching of the changes which Solon introduced were, first, the principle of adjusting the citizen's duties and privileges to his stake in the country, and the measuring of political privilege not in terms of heredity but in terms of wealth; secondly, the institution of the popular courts which, owing to the scrutiny which magistrates had to undergo upon demitting office, gave the people control over the executive.

Solon had attempted to forestall the necessity for tyranny by a fair adjustment, but anarchy had gone too far for this to prove successful. The extremists of all factions were dissatisfied and a period of renewed turmoil followed. Eventually Peisistratus, a military officer of some distinction, at the head of the party of the Mountain, made himself tyrant. He was twice ejected, but after some vicissitudes established himself firmly on the throne about 540 B.C. His reign provides a typical example of the material benefits which the rule of a strong and sensible autocrat may confer.

An energetic colonial and foreign policy brought Athens for the first time into the front rank of Greek states. At home a system of state loans to farmers enabled the small holder to tide over the accidents of bad harvests without falling into the clutches of the usurer. Athens was adorned with public works of utility and magnificence, and both the tyrant and his sons were enlightened patrons of art.

The tyranny fell in the second generation. Among the enemies of Peisistratus who had been banished was the powerful family of the Alcmaeonidae. They had ingratiated themselves with the authorities at the oracle of Delphi, and Delphic pressure was now put upon Sparta to effect the overthrow of Peisistratus' son Hippias and the return of the Alcmaeonidae, of whom the leader was Cleisthenes.

Cleisthenes, however, was not prepared to act as the tool of Sparta and difficulties at once arose. The Spartan king drove out again his too independent protégé, but the people of Athens were fiercely opposed to any form of foreign domination, and at the critical moment some of Sparta's allies refused to support a policy which would give Sparta the control of central Greece and would make their own dependence upon her good will complete. Athens was saved from Spartan domination, and Cleisthenes returned to power.

Cleisthenes, in fact, was the founder of Athenian democracy. Peisistratus had been content with the substance of power and had tactfully allowed Solon's constitutional arrangements to continue in form, but after the expulsion of the tyrants and the political troubles which ensue, it was obvious that a new form of permanent constitution must be framed.

A particular and pressing difficulty led to an important change. A considerable element in Peisistratus' following had been supplied by the 'impure by descent,' that is to say, by persons who did not belong by blood to one of the old Athenian families and therefore could not obtain citizen rights. Under the tyranny they had been virtually enfranchised, and

to disfranchise them now would create embarrassing difficulty to the new regime.

Cleisthenes solved the problem by a reorganization of the tribal system. The old four tribes made up of 'brotherhoods' and clans were henceforth entirely dissociated from politics. Ten new tribes were instituted of which the smallest unit was not the family but the 'deme' or parish. Thus for the principle of birth as the qualification for citizenship was substituted that of locality. We should notice, however, that membership of the deme or parish in Attica itself became hereditary, and a man belonged, not to the deme in which he actually lived, but to the deme of his father. So firmly rooted was the idea of an hereditary civic qualification.

Cleisthenes also invented political machinery which enabled democracy to work. The Assembly remained a mass meeting of all citizens, the assent of which was necessary for legislation to become valid. But clearly a general meeting cannot transact detailed business. The initiative, therefore, in all legislation was invested in a 'Boule' or Council, which consisted of 500 members, fifty being appointed from each tribe. Councillors were annually appointed and no one could become Councillor more than twice.

To transact efficiently the daily detailed business of the state a council of 500 is obviously too large for practical purposes, and it would hardly be possible to keep so numerous a body in permanent session. To meet this a further ingenious arrangement was devised. The year was divided into ten parts, and for each period one of the tribal contingents of fifty, of which the Council was composed, took it in turn to act as a standing committee, which was called a 'prytany.' It was the function of this committee to be always sitting during its relatively short tenure of responsibility, to sift all business and to prepare it for the consideration of the Council. When a matter had been considered and passed by the Council, it became a resolution, which was then submitted to the Assembly. If the Assembly ratified it, it became a 'psephisma' or binding decree.

Cleisthenes was also the inventor of the questionably valuable expedient of ostracism, which takes its name from the sherds ('ostraka'), the waste paper of antiquity, upon which votes were recorded. Under certain safeguards ostracism made it possible in case of party strife to banish one of the party leaders for ten years.

JURYMEN'S TICKETS USED IN ANCIENT ATHENS

Every Athenian citizen liable to serve on juries in the law courts received an identification ticket with his name and district and the number of his section in the jurymen's roll. Above, three bronze specimens (fifth-fourth century B.C.) with a potsherd from Naukratis for recording a vote of ostracism.

British Museum

The subsequent development of Athenian democracy in the fifth century followed directly from Cleisthenes' arrangements. The most important changes were the introduction of election by lot as the method of appointing magistrates and the institution of payment for public service.

Aristotle begins his treatise upon Politics by asking what is the function of the state, and his answer is, 'To provide its members with the opportunity for living well.' Let us take, then, the most liberal and democratic of Greek states, Athens, and consider how far it may be thought to meet the philosopher's requirement.

'Our constitution,' says Pericles in the

Funeral Speech put in his mouth by Thucydides, 'is named a democracy, because it is the rule not of the few but of the many. We give free play to all in our public life. . . . Open and friendly in our private intercourse, in our public acts we keep strictly within the control of the law.' The Athenian citizen, that is to say, acknowledges no master but law, and the sovereignty is vested in the people itself.

If the first principle of Athenian democracy is that of the sovereignty of the people, the second is that of the equal eligibility of all citizens to take part in government. The poorest Athenian citizen could and did take part in the government of his country. It is true that the system did not lack its critics. Plato is never tired of attacking what we may call the gospel of the amateur. No one, he says, would select a chance person to cook his dinner or to steer his ship, and government is a yet more exacting art than cookery or steersmanship. He has less faith than had Aristotle in the general soundness of the average judgment, while he is very sensible of the fickleness and emotionalism of political crowds. 'The many-headed monster,' in his view, responds rather to the gratification of its appetites than to wise direction, and it will be led not by statesmen but by professional politicians. State payment he attacks as a system of bribery, and is inclined to stress the bad influence upon national and individual character exerted by a system which encourages the neglect of private for public affairs and tends to exalt the activities of busybodies.

DOMESTIC SERVICE ALLOTTED TO SLAVES

Aristotle's maxim, 'the good citizen ought not to learn the crafts of inferiors except for his occasional use,' illustrates the curious constitution of Greek society. There were indeed citizen artisans, but menial work, as in the household, was almost always done by slaves; those seen here are probably footmen.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'

Perhaps the chief criticism, which will strike a modern observer, is a criticism which applies to all Greek city states. It is very significant that when Aristotle has arrived at the conclusion that the state exists to enable its citizens 'to live well,' he has then to ask 'what constitutes a citizen?'

For even in Athenian democracy the scope of political liberty would not satisfy a modern democrat, and in terms of brutal fact the citizens for whom the good life is provided form a hereditary class representing a minority of the inhabitants of the state. Statistics of population in ancient Athens are intricate and uncertain, but if we take two different estimates, our statement will be seen to hold for either. Zimmern gives 40,000 citizens, 24,000 resident aliens, 55,000 slaves; the citizens here represent 40,000 out of 119,000. E. Meyer gives 55,000 citizens, 14,000 resident aliens, 100,000 slaves; the proportion here is 55 to 169.

In reaction against an exaggerated estimate of the importance of slavery in the Greek world, it is now the fashion rather to minimize it. But it is difficult for honesty to deny that ultimately Athenian democracy rested upon a basis of slavery, and that without slavery the de-

gree of leisure, which Aristotle rightly notes to be an indispensable condition of his ideal, could not have been guaranteed to the citizen for the purposes of self-development and participation in public affairs. The dirty work of society has somehow to be done. The amount may now be reduced by machinery, but even in America the residual necessary minimum has until now been done mainly by successive waves of peasant immigrants.

Slaves in Athens were not on the whole badly treated. The slave, it is true, had no legal personality; he was a chattel which could be seized for debt; his family relations were not recognized; his evidence in the courts was given under torture. But the law guaranteed him, on the other hand, against brutal ill treatment by his master. Manumission was permitted, and became increasingly practised. The greatest banker of the fourth century, Pasion, started his career as a money-changer's slave.

The other non-citizens were the 'metics,' or resident aliens. These it had been the policy of Athens to encourage to settle in Attica, and as a class they were well contented with their lot. Their social position was not inferior to that of a citizen, but they possessed no political rights. An ancient authority has calculated that in any given year there were twenty thousand citizens drawing pay in some form or other from the state. Given a preoccupation of citizens with public affairs upon such a scale as these figures indicate, it is readily intelligible that, upon the whole, the commercial business tended more and more to pass into the hands of resident aliens, whose ineligibility saved them from the distraction of public affairs.

The scale, then, upon which Athenian democracy was put into practice will justify serious criticism. Equal opportunity to citizens was not merely promised but was actually conferred to a degree which has nowhere else been realized. But, on the other hand, 'citizens' were but a hereditary minority among the inhabitants of Attica.

Even with this limitation, however, the Greeks had made a great discovery: the conception of the state as a voluntary association of freemen for their maximum benefit, and as a living entity in the functional activities of which all its members must play an active part.

This Greek view of the nature of society had been worked out on a very small scale, small enough indeed to permit of the direct government of the people by the people. The notion of representative government, in consequence, hardly emerged as a possibility in the consciousness of Greek political philosophers or statesmen. As we shall see in Chapter 40, the Greeks never perceived that the principles which held good for the ideal society upon a small scale must in some way be given expression in the structure of any political unit larger than the city state if it was to prove healthy and permanent. Partly in consequence of this, such attempts as were made to create larger political units or empires proved to be short-lived failures.

EXTENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE AT ITS ZENITH UNDER DARIUS

Consummate generalship and supreme statesmanship carried the Persian empire of Darius eastwards to the mountain lands about the Indus and westwards to Macedonia and the Isles of Greece. The imperial sway was threatened by the upstart satrapies to the north and north-west at the time of the king's accession, but in two years Darius made his authority supreme and established the Persian empire on a solid basis.

THE PERSIANS AND THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT KING

DESCRIBING THE RELIGION AND CHARACTER OF THE IRANIANS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DOMINIONS WHICH THEY RULED

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For the greater part of the millennium immediately preceding the Christian Era the great plain of the Euphrates, a land whose natural fertility under irrigation had been brought to its highest point by the works of a world-old civilization, formed the nucleus of this western part of the continent of Asia. It was a country in which the population enjoyed an ease of existence that contrasted with the hardness and precariousness of the life which men lived in the regions of mountains and deserts which surrounded it. The prosperous dwellers in the plain were aware that, if they were to keep what they had got, they must be prepared to repel the attacks which were sure to come from their poorer neighbors. They made up their minds that the best way of securing their own safety was by bringing those neighbors into some sort of subjection to their own power. But it was not merely these neighbors that they had to fear. The fame of the wealth of the Euphrates region spread far and wide through the plains of northern Asia, so that the wild nomads of that region conceived now and again the idea of attempting the conquest, or at any rate the spoliation, of this eastern El Dorado.

Thus there rose in the Euphrates basin monarchies that were not content with a life of ease which they knew to be a precarious condition, but for their own security sought to bring under their subjection as much as they could of western Asia.

The peoples which, in the last millennium before Christ, formed the population of this West Asian region were almost as varied in character as the region itself. Asia Minor was a very museum of nationalities: Greeks in the west, and in patches on the northern coast; Phrygians, a Thracian race from Europe, in the northwest; Carians, Lycians and Lydians, races probably akin to that mysterious race which created the great civilization of Crete, in its western and south-western area; Hittites mixed with fragments of Scythian and Cimmerian tribes in the region east of the Halys river.

In Armenia the population was of the Indo-European family, probably of the Iranian branch; for their religion and their history in Roman times suggest kinship with the Iranians who lived southeast of them. Semitic peoples inhabited Syria and the northern Euphrates region. In the south of that region, in Babylonia, they were mingled with the Sumerians, a people who brought the arts of civilization to a very high point, aided, perhaps, by knowledge derived from India.

To the south-east of Babylonia, east of the Persian Gulf, lay Elam, a mountainous region, inhabited by a people whose racial affinities are unknown. East, beyond the ridges of the Zagros chain, in the north-west of the plateau of Iran, dwelt the Medes, an Iranian race. The Persians, who are associated so closely with them in later history, seem to have dwelt in the southern, mountainous part of the plateau. It is possible that they were originally a Median tribe.

By the time that the Medes and Persians emerge on the surface of history the whole of south Russia and the plains of the Oxus were occupied by races of Iranian blood or Iranian affinities, of which the Scythians and Cimmerians are best known to history. They had broken into south Russia in the early centuries of this millennium and settled in the

area to the north of the Euxine. The Parthians, who were destined to play a great part in western Asia in Roman times, occupied at the dawn of history the western districts of Khorassan, far east of the region where the Medes and Persians dwelt.

The special habitats of the Medes and Persians respectively were the mountainous districts which lie north-west and south-east of that great desert which forms the middle part of modern Persia. The two regions were of much the same character, large areas of mountain upland suitable for pasture, interspersed by well-watered and fertile valleys, regions which might have satisfied those who dwelt in them had they not been in too obvious contrast with the exceptional fertility and wealth of the irrigated plains of Mesopotamia.

Generically the Iranians belonged to that Indo-European family of nations which included a large part of the population of India, and also, even at the dawn of history, a large part of the peoples of Europe. Specifically they belonged to the Aryan branch of the race, the name by which the Iranian and Indian branches of the race called themselves.

Though the various races of the Indo-European family had separated from one another long before history begins, and though no legend or myth going back to that period of separation has survived, yet the evidence of a language and of a religion which were originally common to all these peoples affords scientific proof of their original unity.

The Aryan (Indian and Iranian) branch of the family was more imaginative than the Greek, and had developed its spiritual ideas long before the Greek had emerged from crude materialism. Yet even its religious ideas were evolved from materialistic beginnings. To the early Aryan good and evil were concerned with material things, and especially with the supply of the fruits of the earth.

From the very earliest period of which any trace survives the Aryan had a conception of good and evil as emanating from different powers, from gods and from demons. The gods were benevolent; the demons malevolent. The Greeks, on the other hand, conceived gods who could and might be either, according as their worshippers did or did not placate them by the formalities of prayer and sacrifice.

But as at some very remote period there had come a parting of the ways in the notions of divinity held by Aryan and non-Aryan Indo-Europeans, so later, also at some date beyond record, the developments of religious ideas among the Aryan races began to take different directions, the Iranian going one way and the Indian another. Of the two it may be said that, judged by modern western ideas, the Iranian developed a concept of religion higher than that which came to prevail in India.

There was one material element, fire, which seems to have played a part in the very earliest form of religion among the Indo-European races. It was, no doubt, as a source of heat and light that it came to have divinity attributed to it. As such it was associated with the sun, so that there was always a connection between the veneration given to the one and to the other. Its prominence was greater in the religions of the Iranian peoples than among the races of southern Europe.

The Iranian religion as it existed among the Medes and Persians of the days of Darius did not originate with them. They borrowed it from the Iranians farther east, among whom, Zarathustra, or Zoroaster, was said to have laid the foundations of a revised creed imposed upon the old beliefs of the Iranian peoples. The Iranians seem originally to have had the conception of a world full of demons hostile to mankind, opposed by spiritual beings which gave man material blessings. The latter they associated with light, the former with darkness; physical phenomena associated with good and evil throughout the Indo-European world generally.

But to Zoroaster was attributed the idea of a conflict between good and evil, not merely in the material but also in the spiritual world. In his ideas with regard to material good the Iranian did not differ from his ethnic relations, in that he held the belief that Man must win blessings from God by prayer and sacrifice; though he did not, like the Greek and Roman, conceive of a god who would send evil on him if these offices

were omitted. God would simply withhold the good. The evil would come from the powers of evil, against whom a neglected god would not defend mankind.

In the Iranian, as in the Greek and Roman world, the deceased ancestor was regarded as having the power to confer blessings on his descendants. It is not possible in the case of the Greeks and Romans to see any real connection between ancestor worship and that of the national gods; and it is generally held that the two forms had independent origins, and developed side by side without traceable effect on one another. However that may be, the Iranian had connected the two by regarding ancestors as saints about the throne of the supreme god Ahura-mazda, or Ormuzd, beings who could by intercession obtain from him blessings on their posterity.

Ahura-mazda was without question a god whose supremacy was such that all other divine beings were subordinated to him. He was not, like the Zeus of the Greek world, merely 'first among his peers.' There were, indeed, other god-like beings; but they were genii, spiritual beings rather than gods, conceived of as objects of worship, but not as being on the same spiritual plane as the supreme god. They did not stand beside Ahura-mazda as Hera, Apollo, Poseidon and the other gods of the Graeco-Roman world did beside Zeus.

To the Greeks the gods represented powers in physical nature, of the sea, the sun, the rain and of production. The benefits which the gods could confer were material. But to the Iranian, Ahura-mazda was the god of light, of truth, of purity, the creator of all, the wise, the almighty. He represented the abstract as well as the concrete, the spiritual as well as the physical world. Beside him were the genii, the immortal saints of the religion, representing abstractions such as health, immortality and similar ideas. In contrast with them were the demons of death, sterility, deceit and so forth, always at war with the beneficent beings; defeated by them, but never wholly conquered. Their number was endless, manifested in all the forms of evil. At their head was Ahriman, whose throne was in the darkness of the north.

Religion entered into the daily conduct of the Persian in a way in which it never did into the life of the Greek. Generally speaking, the Iranian religion differs most widely from the other Indo-European religions in the fact that moral conduct is not merely one element, but the central element of it. It is a religion of reality, not of mere formality.

Moreover, the good life was not merely inculcated as a precept of the religion, but was also encouraged by its ideal of the after-life. While its teaching admitted that the good could never attain a final victory in this life, since one of its important doctrines was that this world came into being by reason of the clash between good and evil, yet it inspired men to believe in the separation

ALTARS TO THE GOD OF PURITY AND TRUTH

Fire, as producing heat and light, was the true symbol to the Iranians of the personality of Ahura-mazda. These two imposing fire-altars, the height of a man, stand on a stepped platform on the western slope of the Hussein Kuh at Persepolis; altars and platform are all hewn out of the solid rock.

From Sarre and Herzfeld 'Iranishe Felsreliefs'

ANCIENT PERSIAN ARTISTRY

Opulent imagination is expressed in this Persian ornament of the fourth or fifth century B.C. It is of gold, and the cells in the armlet itself and in the terminal gryphons were once filled with a blue mineral, probably lazulite.

Victoria and Albert Museum

of good and evil in the after-life. There were not one but two worlds of the hereafter: a world of good and happiness to which passed the spirits of those who had done good in this world, and another of evil and misery, for those who had done evil. The fate of the dead was determined by a last judgment at the bridge of Tsinvat.

If by the immortality of the soul be understood an unending future existence, then the Iranian religion presumed more than that. It taught that each man had a genius, or soul, which had existed in an immeasurable past, abode with him in this life, and passed at his death to an eternity in another world, a world in which the departed spirits of the good brought blessings on descendants who honored them with prayer and sacrifice.

Its abstract character as compared with the religions of Greece and Rome is shown by its symbolism. The symbols of divinity among the Greek and Roman peoples were gods sculptured or painted in human form. It is true that on certain Persian monuments which have survived, the sculptor has sought to represent the personality of Ahura-mazda. But the true symbol of that deity was fire. Fire as producing heat was the purifier, and as producing light was symbolical of truth; and truth and purity were the essential attributes of Ahura-mazda. He was not considered as being subject to those human frailties which legend and epic attributed to the gods of Greece.

The Persian was no saint; but, judged by the moral standard prevailing in the world of his time, he was morally superior to the men of contemporary races. He could be cruel on occasion; but he had not that lust for cruelty so characteristic of some of the races of western Asia. He had certain vices common to the East that are abhorred by western races, which have not the same temptation to pursue them, but he possessed the virtues of truth and honesty in an age when such virtues were not common. Of his bravery there can be no doubt. He succumbed to the Macedonian because the latter was the better armed, not because he was the braver man. And, when he had succumbed, the greatest of the Macedonians, Alexander, recognized him as a worthy partner in the rule of that empire in which he had been long supreme.

SCYTHIAN WARRIORS' UNIFORM

As depicted on this palace frieze at Persepolis, Scythian warriors wore pointed hoods and long cloaks. They carried short spears and distinctive shields, convex oval in shape and apparently made of plaited wickerwork.

Berlin Museum

By force of superior weapons the successors of Alexander, the Seleucids, maintained a precarious hold on the Iranian portion of their empire, and sought to Hellenise it by the planting of colonies of Greeks in various parts of it. But the Hellenization stopped short at the material arts of life. The eastern Iranian borrowed no ideas either moral or political from these Greek islands in a sea of orientalism. The religious ideas of the Greeks of that age, mingled scepticism and superstition, did not appeal to him. He went his own way till the precarious Graeco-Macedonian rule faded and died, and the Parthian Iranian attained the mastery in western Asia beyond the Taurus and the Arabian desert.

Up to the time of the destruction of Nineveh in 612 B.C. the predominant power in west Asia was that Assyrian kingdom which was centered in the northern plains of the Euphrates basin. To within a very brief period before the catastrophe it seemed at the height of its power and splendor; but it is evident that this power had been wasted in continual warfare with those races it had subdued, people who were ready to face any danger in order to free themselves from a subjection as cruel as any which is recorded in history. The Assyrian was a first-rate fighter; but he showed little capacity for ordered rule.

PERSIAN MALE COSTUME

Early Persian garb is clearly presented in this silver figurine. The baggy trousers and long cloak, open in front, are still the national costume.

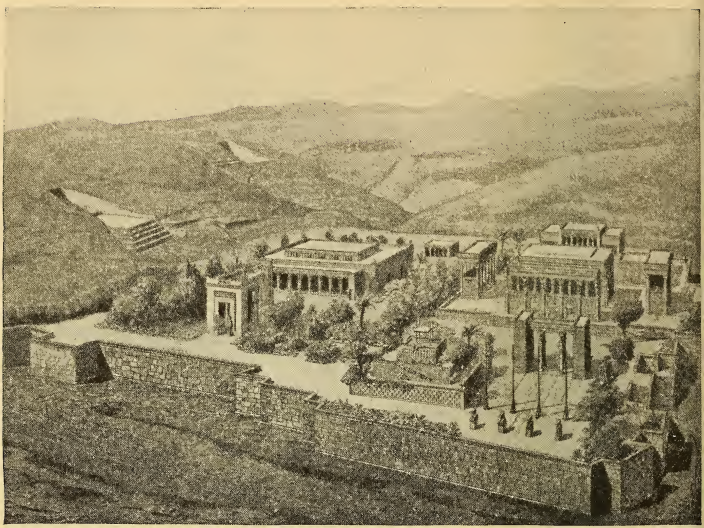
Berlin Museum

Among his rebellious subjects the Medes were prominent; and it is in connection with their relations with Assyria that they first appear in history.

The story of the Median kingdom as told by Herodotus begins about 700 B.C., and covers, roughly speaking, the last century of Assyrian history. He gives a list of kings, some of whose names appear in recognizable forms in Assyrian inscriptions. But, following Median sources, he is under the impression that the Median kingdom was independent of Assyria a generation or two before such freedom was actually attained. The Medes were restless subjects of that cruel rule, and there is no reason to doubt that there were many revolts during the seventh century B.C. in which the Medes were sometimes the assailants, sometimes the assailed. But Median independence did not come till very shortly before Nineveh fell and the Assyrian kingdom vanished utterly from the world and from history.

The beginning of the end was a great inroad of the Scyths from the north into western Asia. The invaders overran the rich lands of the Euphrates region and Syria, where the Jews shut themselves up in their fenced cities and watched the devastation of their lands by those wild horsemen. The Scythians did not destroy Assyria; but they so broke its power that in 612 a combined force of Medes and Babylonians captured Nineveh and destroyed it and the kingdom. Thus the Medes and Babylonians succeeded to the heritage of Assyria.

The previous history of the Medes is in itself obscure, and is further obscured by Herodotus' error in supposing that they won independence of Assyria at an earlier date than they actually did. Of them Fravartish, the Phraortes of Greek historians, who reigned from about 655 to 633, subdued, so Herodotus says, the Persians, and later perished in an abortive attack on Nineveh. The ancestors of the later Persian line of kings, the Achaemenids, seem to have been at this time



VISION OF PERSEPOLIS IN THE DAYS OF ITS LIVING SPLENDOR

From the ground plan of the ruined city, from the ruins themselves and from particulars furnished by many extant reliefs it has been possible to prepare this reconstruction of Persepolis as it was in the days of its glory. On the right the great staircase leads up to the Propylaea of Xerxes, beyond which are the Hypostyle Hall of Xerxes, and the palaces of Darius and Xerxes. In the center are the gardens, and to the left of the Hypostyle Hall is the Hall of a Hundred Columns. Beyond the plateau two of the seven hillside sepulchers of the Achaemenid Kings are shown.

After a reconstruction by Ch. Chipiez

merely chiefs of the Persian tribe of the Pasargadae. Akhamanish, the Achaemenes of the Greeks, founder of the line, is mentioned in the Behistun inscription of Darius, and so is his successor Chaïspi, the Teïspes of Herodotus. During the reign of Teïspes the power of the family was increased by the acquisition of the lordship of Anshan, the eastern part of Elam, which seems to have been a reward for his having helped the Assyrians in their attack on Elam about the year 647. It may be presumed that he at the same time freed himself from what must have been at most a brief subjection to the Median monarchy.

The successor of Phraortes on the throne of Media was a certain Huvakshatara, the Cyaxares of Greek story. He it was who helped Babylonia to overthrow Assyria. From him therefore dates the greatness of that Median realm which was in every sense the forerunner of the Persian Empire.

The history of the next fifty years may be summed up briefly by saying that Babylonia passed through a brilliant period under a line of kings, of whom the Nebuchadrezzar of Bible story was the most famous, to fall in the end beneath the sway of the conquering Cyrus. But little is known of the story of Media during this half century; a great part of the remainder of Cyaxares' long reign must have been occupied with the subjugation of those former Assyrian tributaries that had fallen under his rule, which at first must have been nominal.

By 585 he had extended his dominions so as to include the eastern part of Asia Minor, a region never really under Assyrian dominion, for that power had

never held real sway beyond the Taurus. In this advance he came into contact with the Lydian kingdom, which had in recent years extended its dominions as far as the Halys. On this river the Medes and Lydians drew up their armies in 585 B.C., in readiness to fight a battle. It was never fought, however, for an eclipse of the sun so frightened both sides that they drew off; and not very long afterwards a peace was arranged between them through the mediation of Babylon.

About the personality of Cyrus, one of the outstanding figures in the history of western Asia, there grew up a mass of legendary tradition, the greater part of which has, to borrow a phrase of Thucydides, 'won its way into the realm of myth.' We know, however, that Cyrus overthrew the ruling king of Media, Astyages, by a sudden move against him, and seized the sovereign power for himself. Such reliable evidence as may be sifted from the mass of legend seems to establish the fact that Cyrus was related to the Median royal house, and so merely succeeded to the heritage of the Median line of kings. It is also noticeable that, once his coup d'état had been accomplished, there is no hint of the Medes having shown dissatisfaction with the change of dynasty, though it seems that the outlying parts of the kingdom did not accept Cyrus without a struggle. Thus was founded that great Medo-Persian empire which was destined to rule western Asia for more than two centuries. From this time onward the Medes and the Persians may be treated as one race.

Few details of the reign of Cyrus have come down to the modern world, but such as we have are contained in the account of his victorious career in Chronicle IV.

After conquering Lydia and the Babylonian Empire, whose dominions he added to his own, he died in 529 B.C., leaving two sons, Cambyses and Smerdis, between whom troubles arose as to the succession. Herodotus gives the impression that he was rather a futile person. The Persians did not think so, for they said that, whereas they had found in Cyrus a father, they found in Cambyses a master. Smerdis disappeared shortly before Cambyses set out to invade

RUINS OF THE STATELY HALLS OF XERXES AND DARIUS

Only about a dozen broken pillars remain of the Hypostyle Hall of Xerxes, once the most imposing building in Persepolis. It stood upon a platform encrusted with carvings and reliefs and was reached by a secondary staircase from the main artificial plateau. Behind it on a level some seven feet higher still was the palace of Darius comprising portico, pillared hall and rectangular chambers.

Photo, Sir Percy Sykes

Egypt, and it is said that he was murdered by his brother.

Cambyses proceeded to extend the Persian Empire by conquering Egypt; where he remained for some years, and, so the story goes, went far towards the adoption of Egyptian manners and customs. In 522 he started on his return journey to his Asiatic possessions, and on his way received the news that a certain pretender had had considerable success in masquerading as his brother, Smerdis. But before he could deal with this pretender, whose real name was Gaumata, he died in Syria.

From these ruins of the eastern, inner portal of the Propylaea with their human-headed, winged colossi it is easy to imagine the erstwhile massive grandeur of the gate and its formidable Assyrian appearance when viewed from front and rear.

The tale of what followed in the Persian kingdom is very obscure. It may be that the pretender did for a short time rule the kingdom. His reign, however, began and ended in the year 522, towards the end of which Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and certain other prominent Persians assassinated him.

Darius appears to have been at first a king without a kingdom, for the satraps of the provinces and the vassal princes who had been maintained in the rule of their principalities revolted with one consent. It seems to have taken him some years to reconquer the empire. It was perhaps this great rebellion which led him to make a thorough reorganization of the administration of his realm.

This polity was destined to remain that of the empire up to the time of its fall two centuries later, and is a great monument to the ability and enlightenment of the Persian race at its best. Its subsequent decay, like that of the Roman Empire, was not so much due to defects inherent in the scheme itself, as to the gradual decadence of those who had to administer it. The faults were due to its being in certain respects too centralized, and in others too decentralized. It was in the center of the empire, in the members of the royal family itself, that decay first appeared.

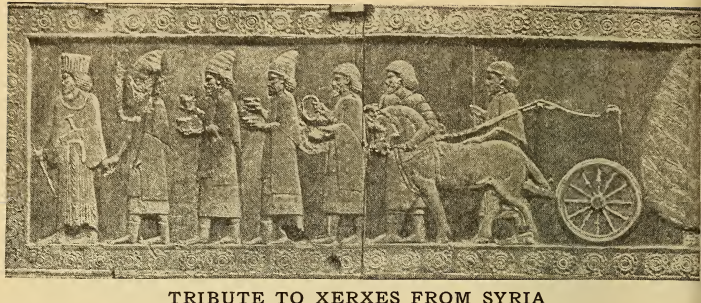
The first danger to be provided against in the new scheme was the isolation and comparative independence of the provincial governors, especially in the remoter provinces of the empire. Hence the governor's powers were strictly limited to one province; and high officials with special departments of their own, and not under his control but directly responsible to the head of the empire, watched his actions.

The empire was divided into satrapies, the number of which varied from twenty to twenty-eight at different periods of Darius' reign. Persia proper alone was excluded, receiving special treatment as the home of the ruling race.

THE PALACE AND PROPYLAEA OF XERXES RESTORED

Hellenic, Assyrian and Egyptian styles were blended by the genius of the Iranian architects who designed and built for Xerxes the Hypostyle Hall and the Propylaea at Persepolis. The cedar-roofed Hall (left), set on a massive carven base, was a miracle of fluted columns crowned by double-headed bulls which supported a fretted entablature. Detached colonnades surrounded it on three sides. The Propylaea (right) stood at the head of the grand staircase. It was a roofed corridor with massive piers of brick and masonry, sentinelled by winged monsters of Assyrian fashion at each end.

After reconstructions by Ch. Chipiez



TRIBUTE TO XERXES FROM SYRIA

Following the old established practice of oriental monarchs the Persian Kings covered all available wall space with carving in relief illustrating the glorious events of their career. The face of the supporting platform of the Hypostyle Hall of Xerxes and of the walls of the outside staircase leading up to it was thus covered with multitudes of figures depicting subject peoples bringing tribute to him. In this strip Syrians are thus portrayed.

Cast from Persepolis in British Museum

The civil and military powers in the satrapies were divided. Three independent officials with separate departments of administration were appointed to each. In the case of important provinces the satraps were generally drawn from great families connected with the Achaemenids; but in the case of others the field of choice seems to have been practically unlimited, governors being selected from among the comparatively poor as well as the wealthy, from the subject races as well as from the Persians. But governors who were neither Medes nor Persians were rare. The length of tenure depended on the will of the king.

Under ordinary circumstances the governor's powers were purely civil, chiefly financial and judicial, the latter including the power of life and death. He neither commanded nor controlled the military forces in his provinces unless the state of affairs was exceptional; in fact, it was often the policy of the central government to play off the military commander against the satrap.

The secretary of state

LIFEGUARDS OF THE PERSIAN KINGS

Of these figures, that on the left, from the Hall of Xerxes, represents a bowman of the King's bodyguard, those on the right, from the Palace of Darius, two Persian spearmen. It is noteworthy that military subjects are more common in the Palace of Darius, scenes of luxurious palace-life in his son's.

Berlin Museum

within the province was the third official who also had direct relations with the king. He kept watch on the governor's actions and reported to the central government if he deemed anything amiss.

There can be no doubt that, within the confines of the vast empire, the condition of the population generally, in comparison with its life in the past, was greatly ameliorated by Persian rule. There is no reason to believe that the government of the satraps was oppressive.

Throughout western Asia the ordinary conditions of life were made much better than they had been in the past. It was to the interest of the government to preserve peace in a world which had hitherto known only the peace of exhaustion. Trade was facilitated by the introduction of a coinage system notable for its purity; and the gold Daric became the 'sovereign' of the eastern world. The encouragement of agriculture was actually part of the Persian religion.

Revenue and taxation were established on business-like principles, taxes being paid either in money or in kind according to the nature of a province. The calls made upon the provinces, first by the central, and secondly by the local, government were perhaps heavy; but, when the revenue was paid, the subject populations were left very much to themselves. In the later days of the monarchy the accumulation of money seems to have become a mania with the royal house. But the subject populations knew that, if they transferred their allegiance elsewhere, they would only be subject to other dynasts suffering from the same complaint.

COURTLY REPRESENTATIONS OF ROYAL POMP AND PROWESS

Persian sculptors frequently decorated doorways with representations of the king emerging from his palace or enthroned at the entrance as if to receive the homage of the people. This design is carved on a pier of masonry rising from the platform at Persepolis. Another frequent subject is of the king in conflict with a nightmare monster.

Photo, Shepstone

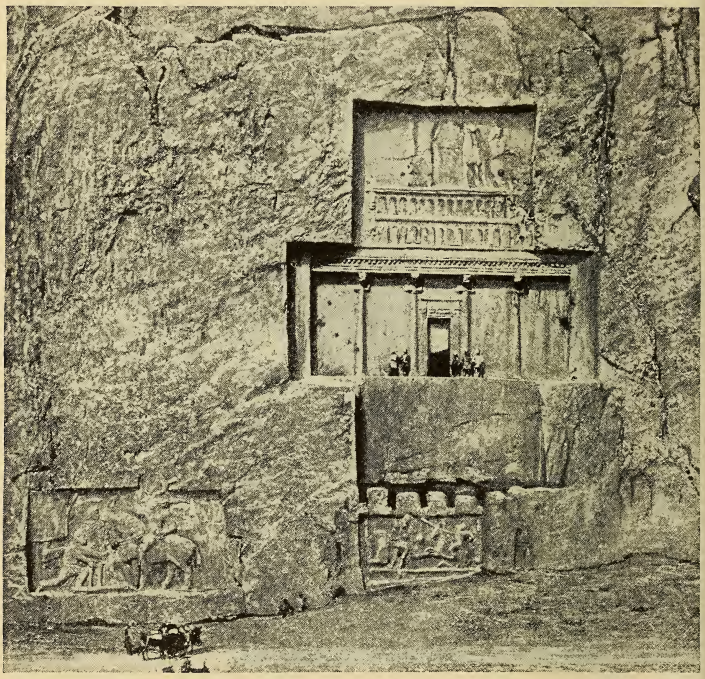
It was probably the military levy, demanded when large wars were waged, that was the heaviest or, at any rate, most unpopular burden borne by the subject populations. But in peace times they did not suffer from this imposition, for the standing army was curiously small.

With his dominions thus secured Darius could turn to the more peaceful pursuit of artistic magnificence. Susa, the winter capital, was adorned with a mighty palace, while a marvelous complex of royal buildings arose in the uplands at Persepolis to serve as a summer capital in place of Pasargadae. It is at Persepolis that Persian art can best be studied; as the illustrations show, it reveals a mingling of Babylonian and Egyptian motives in a certain airy splendor free from the massive solidity of the one and the formalism of the other. But it should be remembered that it was an artificial, exotic production expressly designed for its royal patrons; and the indigenous art of the conquered peoples was little affected.

The history of Persia after the great war of 480-479 B.C. has come down to the modern world in very fragmentary form. We obtain fleeting glimpses of only three periods of its internal history:

those years in which Persia participated in Greek politics during the Ionian War of 413-404; the first quarter of the fourth century; and the last phase of all, when it was conquered by Alexander the Great. Enough is known to make it quite clear that in the two hundred years which intervened between Darius and Alexander the Great, a gradual decline had taken place, not perhaps so much in the moral of the Perso-Median population as in the government and administration. Some of the causes of this decline are apparent in the fragmentary history which has survived.

The main cause was a loss of energy in the personnel of the reigning family. That is a phenomenon which is observable in the case of other countries where the harem has been a feature of court life. The earlier members of dynasties bred in such an atmosphere are, as the founders and preservers of newly-won and unsettled dominions men of the energy which is required by the circumstances in which they conquer and rule. But, once



ROCK TOMB OF KING DARIUS AT NAKSHI RUSTAM NEAR PERSEPOLIS

Pierced in the mountain side about ten miles from Persepolis are four tombs of Achaemenid kings. This, the first of the series, was made for Darius. The door of the sepulcher is in the center panel, representing a palace front. Above this, on a throne supported by two rows of figures representing the nations of the empire, the king stands facing a fire-altar, and adores Ahura-mazda. The lowermost reliefs commemorate events in the later Sassanian period, dealt with in Chapter 76.

From Sarre, 'Kunst des alten Persien'

THE PALACE OF DARIUS AT SUSA AS IT WAS IN ITS PRIME AND AS IT IS TO-DAY

After its destruction by the Assyrians under Ashurbanipal, Susa was restored as a fortress town by Cyrus, possibly because of its situation on the route from Persia to Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, and as a trade depot between the Persian Gulf and the populous region about the Caspian Sea. Excavations have discovered the remains of the Achaemenid capital as shown in this drawing, and from the foundations thus laid bare it has been possible to form the reconstruction above of the Palace of Darius I, with its principal entrance to the south, another on the right, and three open courts.

Reconstruction by M. L. Pillet

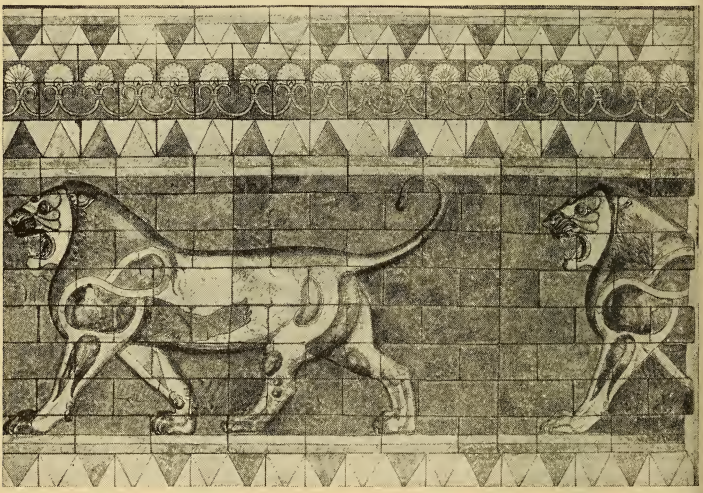
the dynasty is firmly established, once the subject populations have settled down in peaceful acquiescence to its rule, the inherited energy of the ruling house is apt to be dissipated in the atmosphere of the harem.

The Achaemenid monarchs, and, after them, Darius and Xerxes, had to fight for empire and to maintain a strong military supremacy over the newly conquered races until these settled down into peaceful subjection to Persian rule. Their successors found themselves heirs to an empire undisturbed by the vicissitudes of war and, on the whole, peculiarly passive under their rule. Past experience had taught the peoples of western Asia that national freedom was difficult to maintain and that, if it came to subjection, it was better to accept a present in which, under Persian rule, they received lenient treatment, than a future in which they might at best enjoy a precarious liberty, or, more probably, fall under the dominion of some race whose methods of rule would almost certainly be more intolerable than those of Persia. So the Persian kings sat at Susa and Persepolis as superintendents of a piece of political machinery which seemed to work very well without much interference by them, anxious only to draw the profits which resulted from the working. The later Persian kings seem to have been obsessed with a greed for the accumulation of bullion for its own sake.

But though the mass of the peoples of the empire were indifferent towards a subjection which afforded them a peace such as western Asia had never before known, in which they could enjoy undisturbed the fruits of their labors, and which interfered but little with their

local institutions and customs, yet this liberal policy of the central government, which tended more and more as time went on to degenerate into laissez-faire, gave to the satraps or native dynasts of the subject regions a freedom from control which was sure to encourage ambition. The peoples of these regions came more and more to look upon their local ruler, whether satrap or dynast, as a better facsimile of an earthly Providence than a king who sat far off at Susa—to them an abstraction rather than a reality. This tendency was increased by the fact that the office of satrap in some provinces tended to become hereditary in certain families, as, for instance, the satrapy of Dascylium in north-western Asia Minor, which remained in the hands of one family during the fifth century. Still the empire held together until the time of Alexander, and might have defied even him had the Persian government only learnt a practical lesson from a fact of which many Persians were quite conscious—the inferiority of the national panoply as compared with that of the Greeks and Macedonians. Persian troops armed in the Macedonian manner would have been far more terrible adversaries than those whom Alexander defeated in the battles which destroyed the empire. The omission to adopt this military reform is all the more strange inasmuch as the Persian government, recognizing the value of the heavy-armed man, had enlisted large numbers of Greek mercenaries into its service. Still the Persian was neither the first nor the last to fail to recognize the truth of Thucydides' epigram, 'improvements ever prevail.'

Whatever its defects, the Persian rule was to western Asia a blessing such as it had never before, and has never since, experienced; and its fall was that worst of tragedies—a tragedy self-incurred.



ENAMELLED FRIEZE FROM DARIUS' PALACE AT SUSA

Enameled tiles were made and used for architectural purposes by the Elamites from very early times, yellow and blue, apparently, having been their favorite colors. The industry is one of the characteristic crafts of the Persians to this day. This lion frieze adorned the walls of the winter palace of Darius at Susa and is a good specimen of Elamite art, the modeling of the animals comparing very favorably with the conventional style employed by the Assyrians in their delineation of lions.

The Louvre

ETRUSCANS AND CARTHAGINIANS: THEIR ORIGINS AND GROWTH

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF TWO EASTERN RACES WHOSE DESTINIES WERE FULFILLED IN THE WEST

By J. L. MYRES

Wykeham Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University; Author of The Dawn of History, etc.

When Greek adventurers began to explore the coasts of South Italy and Sicily, they found themselves confronted with two distinct kinds of seafaring rivals, the Western Phoenicians and the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans. Both peoples, like the Greeks themselves, were intruders into the west from the eastern Mediterranean, but they had begun to arrive earlier, and it was a long time before Greeks made much headway against them in the districts which they had by this time respectively occupied.

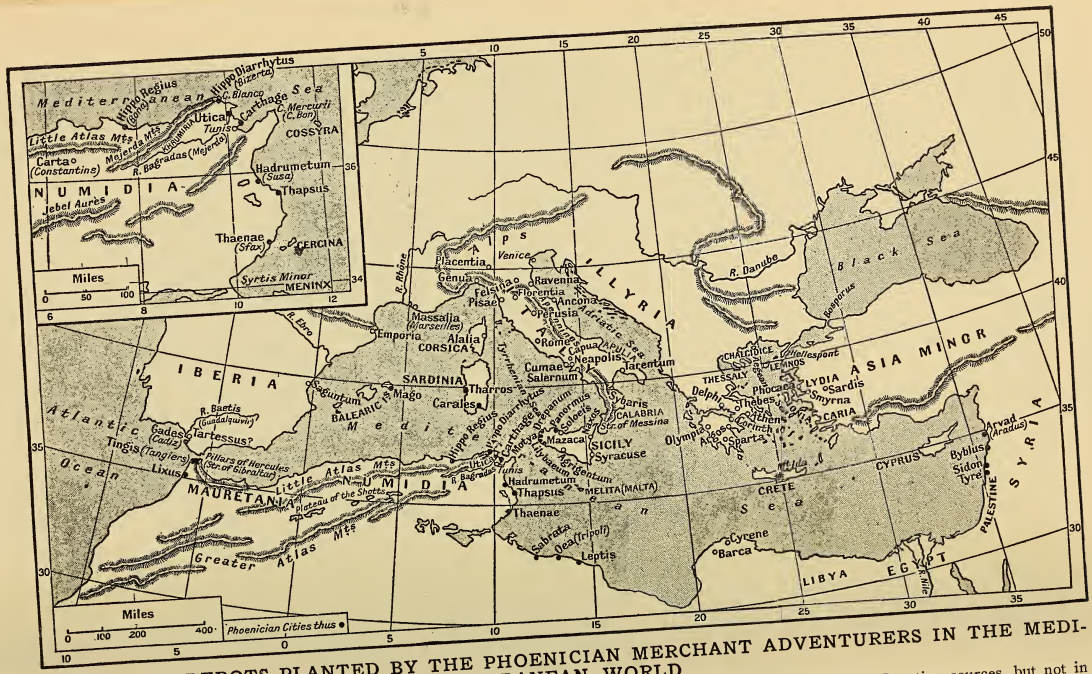
Now, so long as Greek adventurers found only tribal societies on the coasts they were exploring in search of colonies, their own close-knit city-state organization gave them a very great advantage from the outset, and also minimized the extent of the disturbance which their settlement in any district caused. On the more mountainous and inhospitable coasts, large settlements were out of the question, and small ones were at the mercy of the highlanders. But west of the Adriatic the maritime districts of Italy are wide lowlands, or rolling hill-country at worst, with considerable streams and abundance of cultivable land. Here there was room for adjustment between those who introduced the skilled agriculture and tree-farming habitual in Greek communities, and the graziers and dairy-folk of the native tribes.

The only real peril, indeed, was not from the land but at sea; for the Greeks were not the first foreign visitors in the west, and their intrusion was resented by seafaring folk who had forestalled them. Of each of the two principal adversaries, the Greeks had — or believed that they had—some experience already in their own seas from of old. In the Homeric poems the Phoenician comes and goes at will, one day a trader, the next, a slave-raider and buccaneer. His country is somewhere out east, and there is

PUNISHMENT FOR PIRACY

Legend said that Dionysus, captured by pirates, changed his captors into dolphins and their mast into a grape vine. Exekias, the Attic potter, thus painted the legend inside a cup.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'



CITIES AND DEPOTS PLANTED BY THE PHOENICIAN MERCHANT ADVENTURERS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Up to the time of the 'distress of nations,' c. 1300-1200 B.C., we hear, it is true, of the Phoenician cities from Egyptian sources, but not in a sense to suggest merchant adventurers. Perhaps, therefore, an infiltration of 'Peoples of the Sea' first gave them their seafaring propensi-

a city, Sidon, 'full of bronze,' where silver cups are made and skilled weavers work.

Only a little less ancient is the tale which describes how the vagrant god Dionysus was caught once by 'Tyrrhenian' pirates, and turned his captors into dolphins and their ship's mast into a grape vine. In the Aegean these Tyrrhenians were not clearly distinguished from other sea rovers — 'Pelasgians,' 'Carians' and 'Leleges'; but the Aegean sea rovers known to the later colonizing Greeks were only survivals, and the Phoenician merchantmen from Sidon and Tyre, though familiar still, were less dreaded, as the commercial experience of Greek seafarers widened and their growing commercial skill taught competitors better manners.

What was unexpected was that the farther afield Greek ships and settlers went, the more frequent and annoying were their encounters with other Phoenician traders and Tyrrhenian pirates. Only gradually was the puzzle solved, by the discovery of a continent fringed with Phoenician cities like those of the Syrian coast, and of a vast Tyrrhenia far up the western coast of Italy.

Later researches have not discovered much more to explain how these western Tyrrhenians, or—to give them their Latin names—the 'Tuscans' or 'Etruscans,' came to occupy the region of Italy which lies between the valleys of the Arno and the Tiber, with a coast-line of about 150 miles. But of their later history a good deal has come down to us.

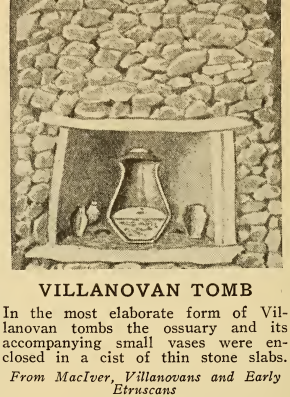
Their country, Etruria, like the Etruscans themselves, is something of an accident in the geography of Italy. Etruscan cities either look outwards—to the sea or over other regions—or have no outlook at all. Complicated and discontinuous in its physical aspect, Etruria is no less difficult to place among the cultural regions of Italy; for the human occupation of the peninsula in prehistoric times seems to have set in from both ends, over-sea from other Mediterranean shores, and over the Alps and Apennines from central Europe. The western Mediterranean, with habitable foreshores and timber supply, was if

CHIEF CITIES OF THE ETRUSCANS

The center of the Etruscan power lay between the Apennines and the Tyrrhenian Sea, where they established their league of twelve cities—generally held to have been Veii, Tarquinii, Caere, Clusium, Cortona, Perusia, Volci, Volsinii, Vetulonia, Volaterrae, Arretium, and Falerii (or Rusellae or Populonia).

From E. M. K. 2126.

anything earlier than the eastern basin to arrive at some unity of culture, far back in the later Stone Age. The wealth of some districts of Spain, in gold, copper and tin, continued this self-sufficiency far into the age of metals; and gave a strongly Mediterranean aspect to the earliest settlements as far north as the foothills of the Alps. It is noteworthy that its representatives buried their dead, and this observance remained deep-rooted in most parts of Italy.



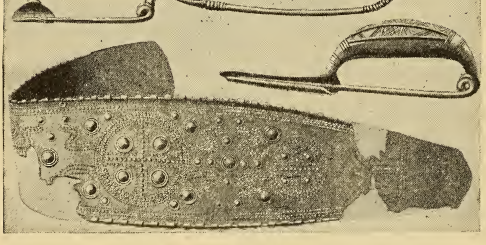
VILLANOVAN TOMB

In the most elaborate form of Villanovan tombs the ossuary and its accompanying small vases were enclosed in a cist of thin stone slabs.

From MacIver, Villanovans and Early Etruscans

But there came a time when the lake dwellers of the Alpine valleys spread southward with a more closely knit type of community, transposed their pile-dwellings from lake margin to river bed, and, with these self-contained 'terramara' bases at their disposal, spread down the Tiber, where the four-square palisaded camps of Roman armies, and the old pile-bridge over the Tiber, betray their traditional mode of life; and even established themselves once as far afield as Tarentum, in a settlement of the conventional type.

Some centuries later a second culture spread, also from the north, of which the typical example is the 'Villanova' settlement beneath the suburbs of Bologna. It inherited something from the terramara culture, but far more from sources beyond the Alps; weapons were largely of iron, but bronze was worked for household gear and ornaments as well as defensive armor; the people who introduced the culture used safety-pins, and burned their dead. Certainly the settlers who practised it occupied most of Etruria, and passed on into parts of Latium; probably they penetrated into the central highlands.



VILLANOVAN BRONZE BELT AND BROOCHES

Archaeologists classify the Villanovan material in three periods: the First and Second Benacci extending from about 1100 to 750 B.C., and the Arnoaldi Period thenceforward to 500 B.C. This bronze girdle belongs to the First Benacci Period; the two upper fibulae to the Second; the other to the Arnoaldi Period.

From Montélius, 'Civilisation primitive en Italie'

Thus Etruria had already representatives of two distinct cultures, and probably of three. From early Greek statements, to the effect that before the Etruscans came the country was 'Umbrian,' it is clear that it shared the fate of the upper Tiber valley, and was occupied by the northernmost group of the Italic-speaking peoples, who have been identified with the men of the Villanova culture.

Into this composite population, finally, were intruded the historic Etruscans. Of this Greek tradition was sure, that they were not an Italian people, but had come from overseas. It was

disputed whether they landed on the Etruscan foreshore—as the name of the 'Tyrrhenian sea' between Italy, Sicily and Sardinia suggested—or by way of the Adriatic, which has its name from Adria, one of their cities between the Apennines and the mouth of the Po. Very likely they came both ways and at various times. The general belief was that they were 'brothers of the Lydians,' who inhabited the great river valleys of the west coast of Asia Minor. The cause of their emigration was said to be drought and famine.

Greek writers assigned the movement to 'the days after the Trojan War.' Roman writers knew that Etruscan history began with an 'era' and was divided into 'ages,' the eighth of which ended in 87 B.C., and the ninth in 44 A.D. All that may be inferred is that in the ninth or tenth century 'something happened' which made all Etruscans feel a common interest in commemorating both it and their other doings henceforward. Before an immigrant people could feel itself at home and a nation, we must presume that there had been a considerable period of gradual infiltration, progressive dominance over this extensive and difficult region, general acceptance of common aims and mutual obligations, and eventually recognition of twelve principal communities of Etruscans, scattered all over Etruria, as co-partners in a single league for common action.

It was a loose league, but at the height of its power, in the sixth century B.C., it was by far the strongest political force in Italy. It held Rome; it dominated Rome's Latin kinsmen, and had established a local league of Etruscan outposts in a conquered Campania. On the north it had annexed the Villanovan settlement at Bologna, which became the Etruscan city Felsina and a member of a similar league of twelve cities beyond the Apennines.

IMPROVING TASTE IN MORTUARY URNS

Earliest Villanovan ossuaries (top row) were hand-made of smoke-blackened ware decorated with maeander patterns that gradually improved. Bronze ossuaries (bottom left) appear later and about 750 B.C. vessels with much more decorative lids and handles are found.

From Montélius, 'Civilisation primitive en Italie'

The Etruscans were not only believed to be of foreign origin: their language, and also their mode of life, were quite alien. Since they borrowed the Greek alphabet from the Chalcidian colonies in the south it is possible to 'read' their numerous inscriptions; but the grammar does not resemble that of any Italic or even any Indo-European language, and the resemblance of a few Etruscan words to words in Latin and other Italic dia-

lects, and to place names in other parts of Italy, is sufficiently explained by loans. Similar resemblances between Etruscan and the languages or place names of Asia Minor do not prove much, but do support the tradition that the Etruscans originally came from Lydia.

By means of the inscriptions it is possible to form some estimate of the area over which the Etruscan language was spoken. They were frequent, and of early date, in the country between the sea and the lower Tiber, where lay the great cities of Veii, Tarquinii, Volci, and the smaller and partly Latin towns of Falerii and Caere. They are found commonly also in the hill country south of the lower Arno, around Cosa, Vetulonia and Volaterrae; along the Clanis and upper Tiber, those of Clusium and Perusia are mainly of later date, as though the art of writing had spread inland slowly. Farther north they have been noted on the Adriatic slope, as far as Ravenna; they are frequent at Bologna, and in the Reno valley is a rich later site, Marzabotto.

To the south there are Etruscan inscriptions from the Latin towns of Praeneste and Tusculum, and the name of the latter suggests that it had once been a 'little Tuscany,' guarding communications with the Etruscan conquests in Campania, where there are inscriptions at Capua, Suessula and Nola, and farther south still at Sorrento and Salerno. In Rome none has been discovered as yet; though Rome had a 'Tuscan Street' leading to the Tiber crossing, and was ruled for three generations by Etruscan 'kings.'

While the Etruscans conserved, with very little change, their peculiar and no doubt original language, they have left very little trace of other arts which can be recognized either as Asiatic or even as foreign to Italy. In Etruria, as elsewhere, the Villanovan settlers burned their dead and buried the ashes, contained in an urn of clay, with a few funerary furnishings, in a shallow pit. But at Vetulonia, a new ritual was introduced, apparently about 900 B.C., in which the burial places were fenced with a circle of rough stones; some of the bodies were laid unburnt in full-length graves or longer trenches; and the spot was further marked by a mound of earth within the stone circle.

AN ASIATIC TYPE

This stele of an Etruscan warrior, found in Volterra, suggests by its Hittite appearance that the Etruscans came from Asia Minor.

Archaeological Museum, Florence

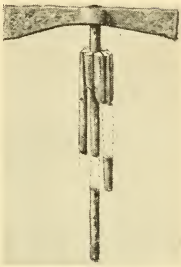
Some inhabitants of the same settlement continued to burn their dead, but burial steadily became commoner. In the chamber tombs the equipment rapidly became copious and elaborately wrought, and foreign objects are still more frequently found, especially clay vessels of recognizable early Greek fabrics, which serve to give approximate dates in the seventh and succeeding centuries.

On a tombstone which surmounted one of the earlier of these mounds is a figure of a warrior with circular shield and crested helmet, of a fashion the Greeks believed they themselves had acquired from the Carians of Asia Minor, and a double-edged battle-axe such as has been found, in iron, in another mound of the same cemetery; and in its general fashion this monument resembles the inscribed tombstone from Lemnos (page 583). In south Etruria a burial chamber at Volci contained an Egyptian scarab-seal with the name of Psammetichus I (663-

609 B.C.), and from this point onwards foreign objects make dating easy and fairly precise.

That a people who conserved their original language should have been so dependent for their material equipment on native industries, while able to provide themselves with ornaments and fine art-work from far countries, becomes intelligible if we accept Greek traditions that in their voyages they had little opportunity of practising such crafts; that they entered Etruria as marauders and conquerors, and that many brought no womenfolk but took native wives. The only serious problem is this: how it was that if the mothers spoke some kind of Italic, the fathers transmitted their own language to the children. But the Greeks of Ionia had achieved the same results in spite of frequent intermarriage, certainly with Carian and presumably also with Lydian women; and in both instances this was probably due to the close-knit social structure of these companies of former ship-mates, which gave effect to their determination not to lose what little it was possible to retain of their traditional ways.

In their religious beliefs, the Etruscans kept themselves apart. Each year they assembled at a central shrine of the goddess Voltumna; and most of their other gods bore Etruscan names, and were only superficially identified by Greek travelers with Greek deities of similar functions and attributes. They observed with even more scrupulous accuracy their traditional ritual and their apparently Oriental system of divination. This magical lore was treasured, when writing became known to them, in linen documents; and with it other more useful learning—geometry, surveying and architectural construction.



VETULONIAN FASCES

Prototype of the symbol of the Roman lictors, this double-headed iron axe, on an iron shaft ringed round with iron rods, was found at Vetulonia.

From Montêlius, 'Civilisation primitive en Italie'

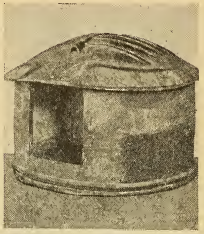
Of their social organization and political institutions, only meager outlines are left. They were ruled first by princely families, and later by an elected chief magistrate and a few subordinate officials. The Roman device of 'collegiate' magistracy has no parallel in Etruria; it was the 'one-man' government established temporarily at Rome by its three Etruscan kings that made the 'proud house of Tarquin' so detested.

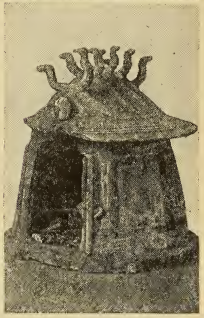
For war, each Etruscan

MOST ANCIENT MEMORIAL OF A MYSTERIOUS RACE

Evidence of the foreign origin of the early Etruscans is furnished by funerary memorials. Incised on one that stood on a tumulus at Vetulonia (right) is the earliest known Etruscan epitaph and a figure of a warrior of 'Pelasgic' type wearing a crested helmet and carrying the double axe associated with the Minoan pantheon. A figure and inscription essentially similar are incised upon the stele (left) discovered at Lemnos.

Courtesy of Mr. A. J. B. Wace and Archaeological Museum, Florence





QUAINT CINERARY URNS FROM ETRURIA

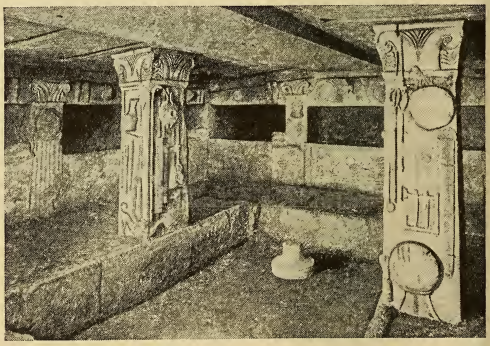
Cinerary urns modelled from dwelling-houses are distinctive of the southern Villanovans of Etruria. They show the door, windows and ornamental roof timbers. A unique urn from Volterra (left) has a representation of an Elysian feast on the lid and a figure of the king of Hades sitting on the handle.

Archaeological Museum, Florence

community raised its own forces. They were armed with heavy spear and short thrusting sword; but the Vetulonian warrior illustrates their debt to their cousins in Asia Minor for an efficient defensive armor; and the Greek belief that they (or their Aegean cousins) had invented the trumpet reflects the efficiency of their handling of large bodies of warriors.

It was in this array that the Etruscan cities combined to extend their domination outside Etruria proper. Their conquests in the Po valley must have been established not later than the early sixth century, and may have been earlier. In the south we have some traditional dates: the occupation of Rome in 616 B.C. and of Capua in 558 B.C. To seaward they had long been active. Elba was theirs, with its rich mines of copper and iron; and they had had earlier encounters with Greek colonists from Phocaea, on the east coast of Corsica, some time before the great fight with a fresh flotilla of Phocaeans, off Alalia, in 535 B.C.

This Etruscan empire did not last long. The Etruscans had been too busy making themselves at home in Etruria; and, when they were ready for the conquest of Italy, other forces were gathering strength. The Gauls were pouring through



INSIDE THE TOMBS OF THE ETRUSCANS

Sepulchral chambers carved in imitation of houses, with rafters and representations of weapons and domestic implements.

OUTSIDE THE MOUND-AND-CIRCLE TOMBS OF THE ETRUSCANS

At Cervetri—the ancient Caere—is a wonderful Etruscan necropolis. The great mound-and-circle tombs are round drums, forty-five to fifty-five yards in diameter, carved out of the soft tufa rock which is cut away to leave them standing up above the street level, or built up of courses of oblong blocks of masonry. On the basis of this rock or masonry tambour, earth was piled into a conical mound. The wall was protected from rain by a 'grundarium' or downward sloping eaves-drip of stones.

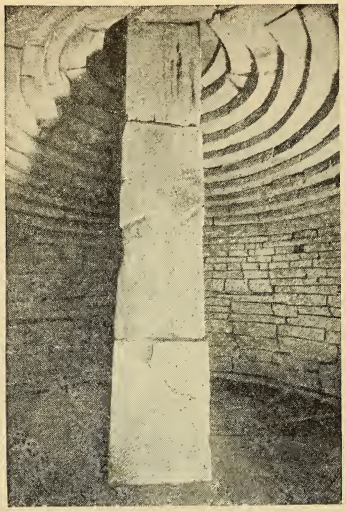
From Randall MacIver 'The Etruscans,' Clarendon Press: photo, Alinari

the Alpine passes quite early in the sixth century; the great Phocaean adventures in the West spread a long line of colonies along the Riviera coast, extending as far east as Genoa; above all, the great outward movement of Italic-speaking tribes and clans from the Central Highlands had reached the coast district between the plains of Latium and Campania, where their raids forced the Latin lowlanders into closer political and military union around their citadel on the Alban Mount, and contributed a sturdy highland element of Sabine families to the ramshackle outlaw-community which was later on to become the City of Rome.

The Etruscan rule in the south, then, had lasted only two generations, when in 524 B.C. Aristodemus, a Greek adventurer who had made himself master of Cumae, defeated the Etruscan army of occupation, and turned the tide. The combined Latins and Sabines of Rome expelled their Etruscan overlords in 510 B.C.; and at sea Hieron of Syracuse caught the Etruscan navy at a disadvantage off Cumae, and dedicated an Etruscan war-trophy in the Greek sanctuary at Olympia.

In Etruria itself, however, this was by no means the end. For nearly two centuries longer Etruscan cities were engaged in a losing fight with the Romans, till the great Roman victories in 310 and 283 B.C. broke their military resistance, and the last Roman triumph over an Etruscan enemy was celebrated in 281 B.C.

It remains to estimate the achievements of the Etruscans in the arts and habits of peace. Immediately after their arrival in Italy it is difficult to detect any change that can be ascribed to their influence in the material civilization of the districts which they occupied. Pottery is neither produced nor easily preserved at sea, and articles of luxury



INTERIOR OF ETRUSCAN BEE-HIVE TOMB

This circular tomb (reconstructed), dating from the sixth century B.C., is paved with stone flags and walled with tufa blocks. A rectangular pillar supports the vault, which is fashioned of overlapping stones in the Mycenaean manner.

Archaeological Museum, Florence

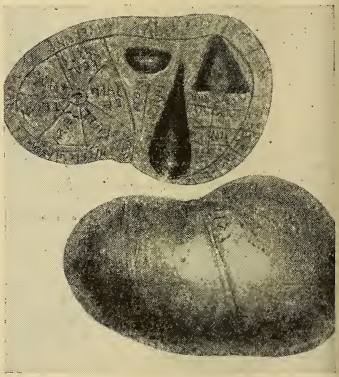
occupy space which can ill be spared. At most we should look for personal ornaments, acquired in port, or as loot. These we find: a few fresh types of brooches, strings of foreign beads, little charms of Egyptian glaze, or imitations of it; and, in the forms of the finer pottery, glimpses of a new familiarity with metal jugs and cups, fluted and gadrooned, with riveted handles. The local potters were imitating for the use of ordinary households, the display of wealth among the rich.

This fashion finds fuller expression in the use, first, of engraved punches, then of roller stamps, to impress bands of relief ornament on the larger vessels, in imitation of silversmiths' work, but repeating monotonously a small repertory of favorite patterns and scenes: processions of animals, chariot-races and groups of fighting men. Later, along with clay copies, there are occasionally the metallic originals, in that 'mixed oriental style,' combining Egyptian and Assyrian designs in an unintelligent way, which is found on bowls, shields and other objects of thin bronze and silver plate, at Nineveh, in Cyprus, in the sacred cave on Mount Ida in Crete, and at Olympia, Delphi and the Athenian acropolis.

The richer tombs in Etruria are lavishly furnished with metal work of all sorts. The most magnificent objects are whole chariots framed and panelled in highly wrought and gilded bronze; but the finest craftsmanship is that of the gold brooches and jewelry with ornament of extremely fine filigree and granulated work.

More important as evidence of date are the foreign fabrics of pottery, with graceful forms and painted decoration, so unlike the dull brown or monotonously polished black of the native 'bucchero' vessels. The majority are of recognizable Greek workmanship. The earliest are of the eighth century; in the seventh they begin to be common, and in the sixth and fifth the trade in them was enormous.

It was in his preparation for the



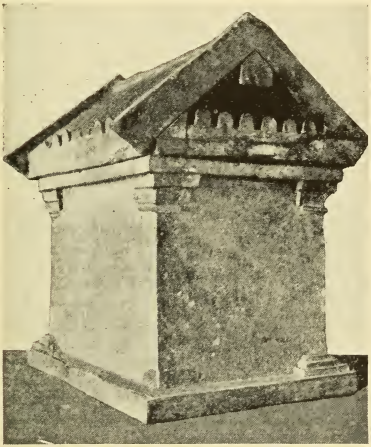
DIVINATION FROM ENTRAILS

Etruscan diviners attached importance to the liver. On the flat surface (top) of this bronze liver are protuberances representing the gall bladder and lobes, and regions inscribed with the names of gods. The under side is convex.

From Thulin, 'Die Gotter des Martianus Capella'

after-life that the Etruscan squandered his wealth and expressed his character and interests most frankly. His mode of life on earth made him horribly uneasy about what happened after death. In Etruria the foreign art of fresco painting was lavishly employed on the walls of the more stately burial chambers. But along with scenes which reveal a delight in acts of violence, cruelty and impropriety, there are horrible demons of the underworld, and souls in torment.

A people in panic about its own destiny could hardly be expected to be scrupulous about the means of salvation. If the fiends wanted souls to persecute, souls they should have; human victims were accordingly sacrificed, and buried alive at the funerals of those who could afford them; prisoners of war were massacred; quarrels and injuries were avenged by means of horrible curses slipped into a tomb. Hardly an occurrence of everyday life was without its spell or charm to avert the wrath of the demon responsible for it. And if the after-life was to be so terrible, and this life, too, was so perilous, what wonder that in Etruscan cities men crowded what pleasures they could into their lives, without consideration for others, or self-respect.



AN ARCHITECTURAL OSSUARY

This unusual 'hut-urn' from Volterra is of polychrome terra-cotta, and represents a Tuscan temple with a square pilaster at each corner. The roof has a decorated coping and a peculiar ornamental screen to the ridge-beam.

Archaeological Museum, Florence

The same lack of restraint or sense of proportion betrays the Etruscan temper even in artistic design. Only one branch of higher art seems to owe anything to Etruscan patronage; from the realistic pageantry of public festivals and funeral ritual arose one of the rare ancient schools of portraiture (graphic rather than ideal). In particular, the habit of modeling, on an urn or casket for the cremated ashes, not the whole figure of the dead man, but only his head and neck, gave rise to the modeled 'bust,' which has its name ('bustum,' tomb) from this original purpose.

It was the circumstance that the Romans had been under Etruscan domination that gave Rome the opportunity to pose as the liberator of other victims of Etruscan oppression, and to weld them into an anti-Etruscan league. For the Etruscans themselves had never been more than a closely organized and desperately self-determined minority; and the difficulty which Etruscan cities found in rallying to defend their common interests seems very largely to have resulted from the peril with which each group of Etruscan conquerors was threatened by its own native subjects.

It was no accident that the Romans found at Caere, which had been the principal Etruscan post in this region, the opportunity to make one of the boldest political experiments of the ancient world, when they offered to the population of this city, on its liberation in 353 B.C., nothing less than participation in their own civil rights. For this 'franchise of Caere' became a model for subsequent enfranchisements, and was the first step towards that extension of Rome citizenship, to people not of Roman descent, which was the principal agency by which Rome eventually incorporated in one body politic, not only all Italy, but the Mediterranean world.

While the spread of Greek colonization in Italy was thus checked by the sea power of the Etruscans, a quite different danger beset it to the southward, from the Phoenician settlements in North Africa and especially from the greatest of them, Carthage.

The Phoenicians, like the Etruscans, were immigrants from farther east, and their establishment in the western seas was probably not much, if at all, older than the league of cities in Etruria. But their Greek rivals formed an exaggerated notion of the Phoenician claim to priority.

The Phoenician cities of the Syrian coast, indeed, have a long history. Byblus was in regular communication with the Nile Valley by sea from early dynastic times, certainly before 3000 B.C. But it is not till the Egyptian conquest of Syria by the Eighteenth Dynasty, about 1500 B.C., that most of the Phoenician cities are recognizable. Between 1420 and 1350 Sidon, Tyre, Arvad and several others were self-governed cities. They made the best terms for their own interests with their Egyptian overlord, and also with his enemies the Hittites from North Syria, the predatory Khabiru from the desert inland, and the Sea Raiders from the 'islands in the midst of the sea.'

This period of 'distress of nations' culminated in the great raids from the north-west, which were stayed by Rameses III soon after 1200 B.C.; and about this time Tyre seems to have made a fresh start. As both Cyprus and the Philistine coast received large fresh settlements from overseas at about this time, it has been suggested that the African coast may also have been visited by adventurers returning from eastern waters, and so become known to the sailors and merchants of the Phoenician cities.

LATE ETRUSCAN VIEW OF DEATH

A certain brooding sense of terror of the after life is suggested in some of the later Etruscan tomb frescoes—as in this picture of a dead woman being borne away by a swarthy winged spirit.

From Decati and Gigliogli, 'Arte Etrusca'

But it was not the low-lying palm-fringed coast of Libya which made the fortunes of the western Phoenicians. Ancient tradition drew but little distinction in point of date between the first Phoenician settlements in Mediterranean Africa and those beyond the Strait of Gibraltar on the Spanish and the African shore. The belief that Utica, under the lee of Cape Bon, Lixus at Larache, south of Tangier, and Gades near the mouth of the Guadalquivir were founded by adventurers from Tyre soon after 1200 B.C. is probably well warranted; they were the direct reaction of the reconstructed Tyre to the new geographical perspective revealed by the new intercourse with the 'Peoples of the Sea.'

In habitual rivalry with Tyre, Sidon is believed to have founded Campe, probably where Carthage afterwards stood, and also one or both of the two cities called Hippo, west of Cape Blanco, at Bizerta and Bona respectively. No details are known of these early settlements; and it was not till three centuries later that a fresh adventure opened a new page in the history of the region.

And this new enterprise stands, like its predecessor, in direct relation with the fortunes of Tyre.

In 876 B.C. Ashur-nasir-pal II received homage and tribute from Tyre, Sidon and Byblus; and Shalmaneser III in 849 and 846 B.C. Both the disturbance to inland commerce during this period of conquests and revolts, and the general disorder which resulted from the collapse of the Assyrian rule before the close of the century, brought discontent to these merchant cities. There was internal feud in Tyre. About 840 B.C., the malcontents, led by Elissa the king's sister, better known as Dido 'the refugee,' founded in Phoenician Africa a 'new town' (Quarth-hadasht) which the Greeks knew as Carchedon and the Romans as Carthago. The legend that a native chief granted 'so much ground as could be contained by the skin of an ox,' and that Dido cut the skin into as many strips as would enclose the lands she wanted, is a hint that the place had to be quite refounded.

The site was indeed large and commodious (see map in Chapter 45). The great city that was built upon this site is more suitably described in Chapter 45. The new settlement was admirably placed for the headquarters of a commercial system. The bay is protected against all winds but one, and lies at the junction of the two coasts, with easy ways of communication with its fertile eastern frontage, where the grain port of Hadrumetum was to be, with the date-country round Gabes in the south and with Saharan caravan-routes beyond the Shotts. The basin of the Mejerda was a natural avenue to the central plateau, with branch valleys among the highlands on either hand. If fighting men were wanted, there were the Berbers, and if mobile cavalry, the 'barbary horses' of the prairie. There was abundant forest for shipbuilding, copper mines in the hills, and access indirectly across the southern deserts to the hinterland of the Gold Coast.

In Greek writers the Phoenician west consists of Carthage and its dependencies, an African empire, with a home territory twice as large as Wales; ports and depots as far east as the frontier against Greek Cyrene, behind the Greater Quicksands, and as far west as the coast of Morocco; and tributary chieftains among the native 'Numidian' peoples.

If the traditional date for the foundation of Carthage is correct, there was an interval of about a century before the first Greek colonies were established in Sicily, at Syracuse and Naxos, about

ETRUSCAN ARMS OF DEFENCE

It is doubtful whether the Etruscans derived their helmet and defensive armor from the Greeks or directly from their Asiatic home. At least the trappings of this late fifth century bronze of a warrior are typically Greek.

Archaeological Museum, Florence

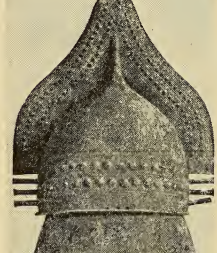
735 B.C. But there are reasons for believing that Phoenician settlement in this island did not anticipate Greek by much. There was indeed a good reason why fresh emigrants should have been leaving Tyre and the other mother cities about that time; for the third and most

extensive aggression of Assyria took heavy tribute from Tyre in 745 and again in 734 and 725. Small earlier trading stations, indeed, there seem to have been in Sicily at many points afterwards occupied by Greeks; but the permanent Phoenician cities in the west of the island, Motya, Soloeis and Panormus, are of a more substantial quality, and appear to be elements in a deliberate scheme of exploitation directed from the Carthaginian base.

There was, indeed, another reason why the west of Sicily should have become so securely annexed to the Phoenician system, whereas the remainder fell easily under Greek influence. Not only is the western country itself more rugged and much less fertile except in a few secluded coast plains, but the native population is different, more akin to that of Spain, and little affected by the repeated intrusions of tribes of Italic descent across the Strait of Messina. It was the possession of the western fortresses, and especially of Panormus with its safe port and the extraordinary fertility of the 'Concha d'Oro' lowland, that eventually decided the fate of the whole. Consequently Greek colonization, after rapid and almost unbroken spread from 735 to about 580 B.C., was checked rather suddenly when it reached this western region, just as it had been checked in Italy by contact with the Etruscan regime.

But in the same way as the Phocaeans found another route to the farther West, up the Corsican coast and so past the Etruscan dominion to the vast field of enterprise of which the principal base was Massalia and an advanced post Emporia ('the Depots') by the mouth of the Ebro, with a friendly town at Saguntum some way beyond it, so the same bold explorers, avoiding Phoenician Sicily, made acquaintance with the country known to Greeks as Tartessus, in southern Spain, and enjoyed a monopoly of its trade and friendship from about 600 B.C. till the destruction of Phocaea itself by the Persians (circa 540 B.C.).

Exactly what was included in 'Tartessus' is not clear. It was a depot, not a colony, and even its site is now unknown. Like Gades, Tartessus gave access to the great mineral wealth of the hill country on either side of the Guadalquivir valley, and to the routes which traversed the valley towards other mining districts. Like Gades again, it seems to have been a base for expeditions along the Atlantic coast, and somewhere in this direction



TYPES OF HELMET WORN BY THE SOLDIERS OF ETRURIA

Among the many different forms of helmet used by the Etruscans the commonest was a round cap like the one on the right, which was dedicated at Olympia by Hieron of Syracuse as part of spoils captured from the Etruscans in 474 B.C. In the center is the head of a warrior, but the crest of the helmet has been shattered. On the left is an ossuary surmounted by a ridged helmet of beaten bronze.

Archaeological Museum, Florence

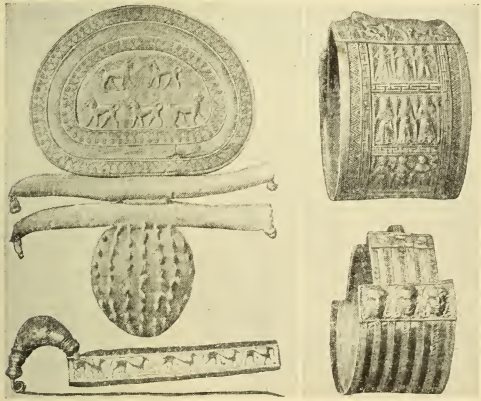
were believed to lie the 'Tin Islands.'

On the Atlantic seaboard, then, as in Sicily, the Phoenicians had a certain priority over the Greeks; but they were steadily losing the advantages of this lead, when Greek expansion had once acquired impetus, and were driven to fresh fields.

Two such fields obviously awaited them, in Sardinia and along the West African coast. Since early times Sardinia had been visited occasionally by voyagers from the East Mediterranean, but it was only about 600 B.C. that it was occupied by Phoenicians, who had a regular city, at Tharros. Here there was no Greek competition. The great design of 'colonizing Sardinia, the greatest of the islands,' tickled the imagination of politicians more than once in the sixth century; but nothing seems to have been done, and Sardinia remained a Phoenician monopoly till it was surrendered to the Romans in 238 B.C.

HOW ETRUSCAN WARRIORS WERE EQUIPPED

Each of these triangular bronze plaques is decorated in repoussé with the figure of a soldier showing the equipment of an Etruscan fighting man. The ornaments, about 8 in. long, were probably frontal pieces used for protecting the horses' heads.



DAINTY WORK OF THE ETRUSCAN GOLDSMITH

Ornamented in Oriental fashion with birds and figures of animals, the large fibula dates from the early seventh century B.C. The other fibula is also ornamented with animals; but the bracelets bear figures and heads in repoussé with details in granulation—a characteristic form of Etruscan decoration.

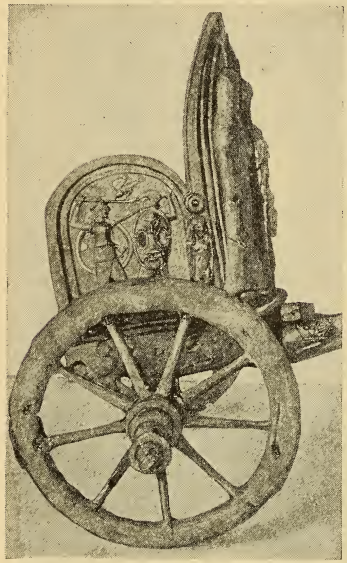
From Randall MacIver, 'Villanovans and Early Etruscans,' Oxford University Press

Phoenician exploitations of Africa attracted less attention than those of European coasts, mainly because here there were neither Greek witnesses nor competitors. The famous circumnavigation undertaken by Phoenicians for Pharaoh Necho late in the seventh century was exploration only, but the voyage of Hanno the Carthaginian, about 500 B.C., was a purely western venture, and the record of

his discoveries was set up in the chief temple of Carthage. It seems certain that Hanno reached Cape Palmas. But neither on the very harborless mainland of West Africa, nor in the 'Islands of the West,' do there seem to have been settlements.

Still more obscure, and necessarily unaccompanied by colonization, is the Carthaginian caravan traffic across the western Sahara. For trans-Saharan trade follows two distinct routes separated by the wide and desert 'Red Plateau.' Of the eastern route through Fezzan to Lake Chad and the Benue river we hear something from Greek sources, because it was accessible from the Greek colonies of Cyrene and Barca, directly south of the Greek homeland; but the western, by Ghadames and Rhat to Sokoto and the middle Niger, was entirely controlled by Carthage, and our information about it only begins in Roman times. That the Carthaginians interested themselves also in the eastern route is, however, clear from their successful assertion of a protectorate over the habitable, palm-bearing and, eventually, oil-farming foreshore between the two 'Quicksands,' later known as 'Three Cities' (the modern Tripoli), but in the fifth century as the 'Depot' coast (Emporia).

When Dorieus, prince of Sparta, attempted to found a colony there, on the Cinyps river, about 515 B.C., he failed because the Libyans were hand-and-glove with Phoenicians; he had in fact come too late to do what had been so effectually achieved at Cyrene little more than a century earlier, where only the place name Barca survived to suggest that there had ever been Phoenicians there. That the expedition of Dorieus was something more than filibustering is clear from the reproach of Gelon, ruler of Syracuse in 480 B.C., that the Spartans had failed him when he 'tried to recover the Depots.' The romantic story of the foot-race to establish an equitable frontier at the 'Altars of the Philaeni' in the no-man's-land behind the 'Great Quicksand,' however, only covers the fact that Greek



FROM THE TOMB OF A CHARIOTEER

The richer Etruscan tombs in the sixth century B.C. were sumptuously furnished with metal work. This chariot of gilded bronze has its panels (above) ornamented with soldiers fighting and female figures. The soldiers are wearing greaves like those of the Greeks.

Metropolitan Museum, New York

These three pottery urns show an interesting development from the bronze ossuaries in page 594. The first two with their punch-marks and sham rivets imitate their bronze prototypes; but whereas the first retains the original handles, the second has a rotating arm (the projection probably represents the warrior's shield), and the third has utilized the handles to support two pivoted arms.

Eventually the anthropoid characteristics of the urn extended from the head to the whole body; thus the central object here is sixth or fifth century B.C., while the upper three are ninth or eighth. But the process seems to have been accompanied by degeneration, for the last example shows all the marks of stylized and mechanical art—unless it is merely a cruder contemporary effort. Note how the magnificent chairs of the older burials have become mere egg-cup-like sockets.

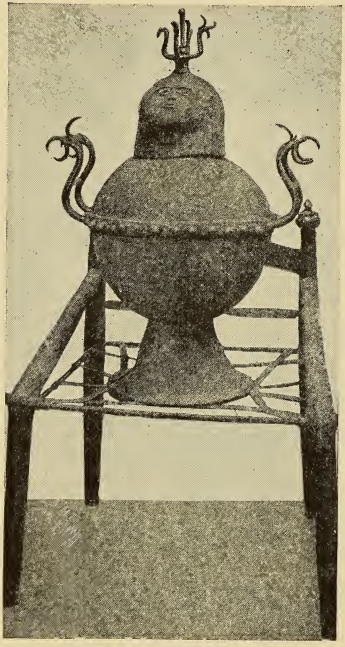
ORIGIN OF THE 'BUST': ETRUSCAN BURIAL CUSTOM THAT LASTED FOR CENTURIES

Archaeological Museum, Florence

enterprise made no further claim to the 'Three Cities,' so that it remained for Rome to open up this region to European traders after the Second Punic War.

Thus at all important points around the western Mediterranean—in the Tripolis, in southern Spain, between Sardinia and Corsica, and above all in Sicily—Greek and Carthaginian interests began to clash, all the more severely because the methods of the two peoples were as different as their objects.

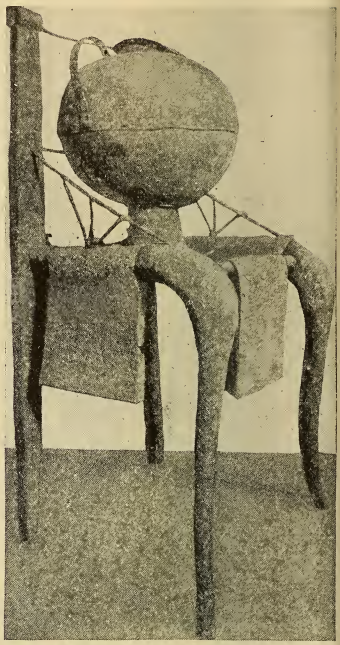
It is commonly said that whereas the Greeks went abroad as settlers and especially as farmers, and consequently displaced or absorbed the various occupants of the soil, the Phoenicians devoted themselves exclusively to trade, and left the native population undisturbed as well as uncivilized. This, however, does not quite account for all the facts. Certainly the older and more important Phoenician centers in the west were 'city states' like those of their mother land, and are always so described by the Greeks. Aristotle, for example, included Carthage in his comparative study of political constitutions. Greek cities, like Phoenician, made working agreements with native tribes and princes, sometimes of a quite intimate kind; at Cyrene the 'Libyan



ETRUSCAN FUNERARY CUSTOMS

The crude features on the lid of this bronze ossuary seem to be an intermediate stage between the helmet type (page 590) and the more completely anthropoid urns of pottery that developed later (see page 593).

Archaeological Museum, Florence



THRONED IN DEATH AS IN LIFE

A curious custom by which funerary urns were placed on chairs of beaten bronze shows the kind of furniture that one might have found in a wealthy Etruscan home. They apparently indicated the high rank of the deceased.

Archaeological Museum, Florence

neighbors' were enfranchised along with newcomers from other Greek states; and at Sybaris, Syracuse and Tarentum there were tributary natives under the protectorate of the Greek community. But the mother states in Phoenicia, though they held territory beyond their walls or inshore islands, held it precariously, and only on the small scale that their rugged back-country allowed. They had also long since passed through that economic revolution which many Greek states hardly experienced at all, and some modern states are still undergoing, the result of which is to surrender their primitive self-sufficiency for a higher type of

FOREIGN STRAINS IN THE ART OF THE ETRUSCAN BRONZE WORKER

Etruscan craftsmanship at its best appears in the metal work, but even here much of the art was imitative. Thus, on the bronze bowl (top left), consecrated to the cult of Jupiter, there are little figures of the god in a conventional mixed oriental style reminiscent of Phoenician imitations of Assyrian work. And the earlier bucket below, which from the circumstances of its finding must be called 6th century Etruscan, is practically indistinguishable from that shown in page 465.

From Randall MacIver, 'Villanovans and Early Etruscans,' Oxford University Press

culture based on interchange of specialized products between communities politically independent.

Such interchange was a matter of degree; it depended mainly upon local conditions, and these varied infinitely. Sidon was famous already in Homeric times for its jewelry, silverware and bronze work; Attica only gave up the struggle to grow its own grain crop, and specialized in olive oil, in the sixth century; the Boeotian potteries were only established at the end of the fifth, using Attic labor disorganized by a disastrous war.

Some states, such as Corinth, and eventually Athens, welcomed and incorporated foreign craftsmen, and regarded even slavery rather as an enforced apprenticeship to their own way of living. It is here that we touch the vital difference between the Phoenician city states and those Greek cities which did most to make Greek civilization the force that it has been in the world.

Like those states of Greece which continued to restrict the privilege of full membership to their own 'free-born' members, the Phoenician communities, both in Syria and in the west, remained exclusive and inbred. The opportunities for wealth which they enjoyed they reserved for their own closed circle of incorporated clans; they remained 'aristocracies' at best and usually were what the Greeks called 'timocracies,' meaning that variety of minority rule in which political

DANCING IN AN ECSTASY OF MOURNING

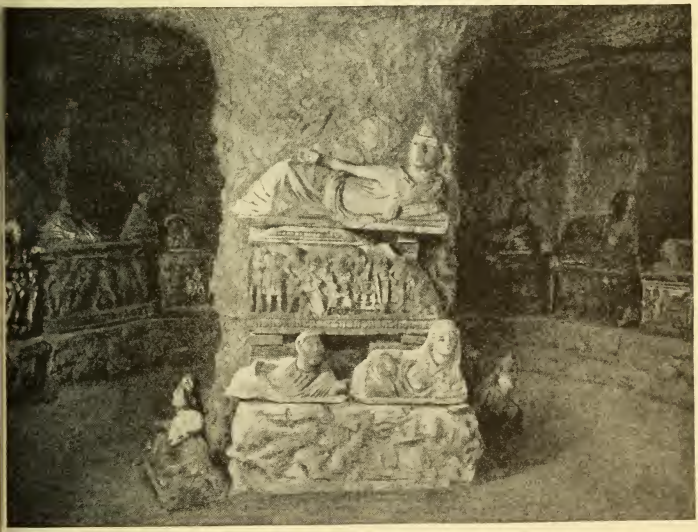
Apparently the dance was as important as the lament in Etruscan funerary ritual. The fresco of which a portion is shown above dates from the beginning of the fifth century B.C., and is one of the best representations of Etruscan mourning dancers. Male and female dancers are performing among the trees. Animal life abounds; the trees are full of birds, and the tail of a cat climbing the left-hand tree (the rest has flaked off) can be seen.

From Poulsen, 'Etruscan Tomb Paintings,' Oxford University Press

privileges accumulated with increase of wealth. They were capitalist societies, in the sense that the first concern of their members was to conserve and opportunely increase, their stock and reserve of valuable commodities, and maintain the system and organization under which these were amassed. The result was a public (and also a personal) morality in which the end justified the means. 'At Carthage,' as Polybius puts it, 'no one is blamed, however he may have acquired his wealth.' The citizens of such states were hereditary stockholders in a co-operative economic concern, and were expected and trained to take a 'business view' of public affairs. This appears most clearly in their conduct of war, which is studied in Chapter 45, together with their constitution.

In a community of this nature, the business quarter and the trading and shipping interests counted for everything, the countryside for very little; if it secured good prices for its produce in the urban market, it had its reward: and at Carthage, agriculture, like war, was a subordinate department of 'big business,' to be managed on economic lines with all expert aids. That the Carthaginians successfully achieved the ends to which this policy was directed is demonstrated in Chapter 45. The absorbing and continuous attractiveness of a business life, and the endlessness of the pursuit of wealth on a national scale, are sufficient explanation of the failure of Phoenician cities to cultivate the arts of leisure.

Such, in so far as its origins and growth are concerned, was the second rival people with whom Greek settlers were in even more frequent and hostile contact than with Etruscans, as the Western world became more widely populated: its society and achievements, its character

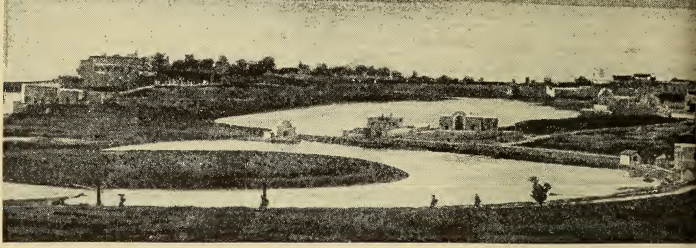


LATE ETRUSCAN ROCK-HEWN FAMILY TOMBS

Primitive mound-and-circle burials developed into elaborate mortuary chambers appropriated to a single family. This is a reconstruction of one such found at San Girolamo, near Volterra; but the original door has been retained, together with the alabaster caskets, some forty in number, each containing the ashes of a member (probably) of the Atia family. The caskets have lids of the later anthropoid type shown in page 593, and the sides are decorated with scenes mostly drawn from Greek mythology.

Bottom, Archaeological Museum, Florence; photos, Alinari

and empire, are described elsewhere. And it is not surprising to find that Carthaginians and Etruscans made their common hostility to Greeks the ground of a great friendship between themselves. There were other reasons for co-operation. The metal-wealth and amber-trade of Etruria, and the grain, horses, textiles and oriental amulets of Carthage were complementary resources. Etruscan landing places offered through-routes to the Alps and beyond; and as Etruscan dominion spread southward, friendly ports multiplied and the regions open to Greek rivals were restricted and difficulties were increased for the long Phocaean voyages between the Strait of Messina and the countries round the Rhône and Ebro. The direct route to Tartessus seems to have been summarily closed (perhaps after the destruction of Phocaea itself by the Persians, and of Alalia by the Etruscans) through the Carthaginian practice of sinking all foreign ships between Sardinia and the Pillars of Hercules. East of Sardinia, presumably, such matters were left to Etruscans.



SITE OF ANCIENT CARTHAGE BESIDE THE GULF OF TUNIS

Founded by Phoenician settlers from Tyre under the leadership, so legend says, of Dido, Carthage became the capital of an empire that dominated the Mediterranean. There were two excellent harbors, the inner, known as the Cothon, being reserved for warships. The circular Cothon, in this southward view from the Byrsa citadel, is in the foreground, and upon the island once stood the Admiral's headquarters. The outer harbor is much silted up.

RISING RELIGIONS OF THE FARTHER EAST

A SKETCH OF THE SPIRITUAL AND PHILOSOPHIC DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA AND CHINA OF THE SIXTH CENTURY, B.C.

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.Litt.

Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Edinburgh University; Author of The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, etc.

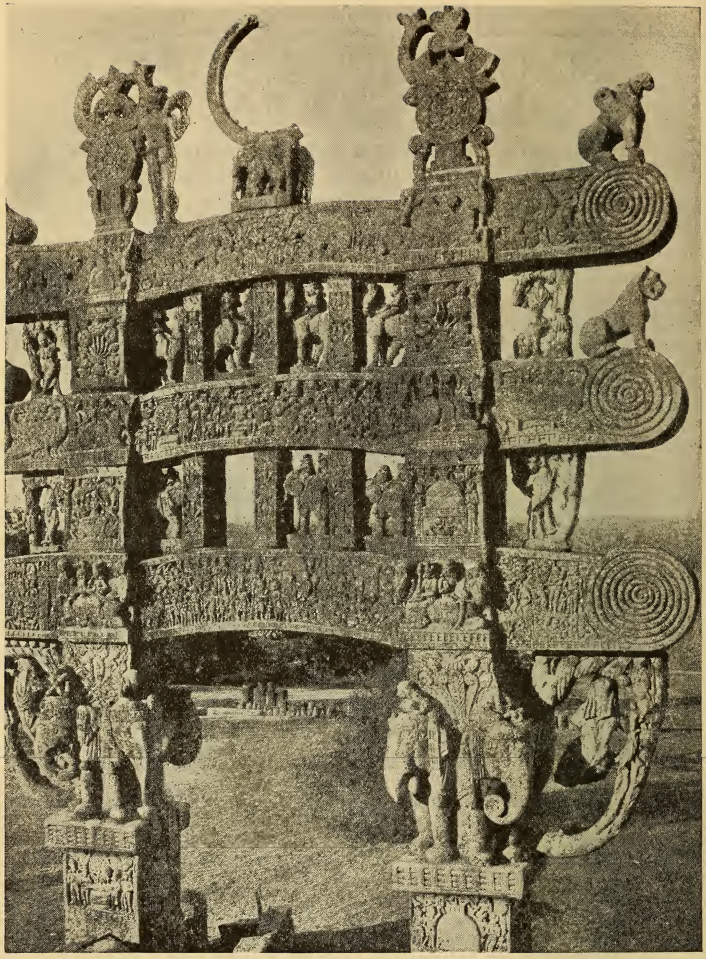
WHILE their close kinsmen, the Iranians, hardened by the life of their mountain lands and led by rulers who were ardent adherents of the mighty Ahura-mazda, were usurping lordship of Asia and sweeping onwards to the great conflict which opened the struggle between East and West, the Aryans of India were developing two religious systems destined permanently and vitally to affect the beliefs and actions of millions of men.

Yet it would be utterly misleading to picture India as a land of philosophers, of men of thought, not of action. The territories attached for a period to the Macedonian kingdom by the force of Alexander's arms (see Chronicle VI) and the skill of his diplomacy hastened, on his death, to free themselves from Greek sway, and the advent of the great empire of Chandragupta, the Maurya, rendered Seleucus only too ready to come to terms with so formidable a rival, and to conclude a treaty under which India was freed from foreign rule.

Asoka, greatest of the Mauryas, treated as an equal with the successors of Seleucus; and not until after his death did the slackening of the bonds of empire open the way to the inroad into India of Bactrian Greeks (see Chap. 40). What India lacked was not fighting men nor the love of war, but skill in organization, and her emergence as a great power under the Mauryas is easily explained by remembering that the Persian Empire effected considerable conquests on the Indian borders, and that the Indian mind has ever shown itself swift to note and to imitate the achievements of foreign rulers.

But the intellectual achievements of India were directly promoted by the steadily growing distinctions of class among the people, the forerunners of the modern caste system. The early Aryans may have known no great distinction between priest, warrior-ruler and man of the people—Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaisya—all Aryans as opposed to the aborigines, Sudras, who were reduced to slavery when they were not exterminated by the invaders. But invasion gave place to settlement, and Sudras were too useful as cultivators and servants to be lightly destroyed. Warriors and husbandmen alike were willing to turn into landed proprietors on a large or small scale, much of the actual work of their holdings being done by Sudras. In other cases, however, no effort was made to reduce the Sudras to such extremities, but they were permitted to accept the suzerainty of a conqueror, and to abide in their villages and to cultivate their plots on condition of payment of dues to their overlord, who again might confer his claims on one or other of his family or his war-band.

Social inequality rapidly developed; the invasions had begotten the king as war leader. His office now tended, though not invariably, to become hereditary; his children and their descendants contributed to form a class of Kshatriyas, 'men of the ruling class,' to whom were added the chosen companions of the king. The royal duties caused the separation of priestly and governing functions, if, indeed, these were ever normally united in early Aryan India. The priest, in primitive times doubtless marked out by vocation and temperamental fitness, came more and more to require a regular training in the craft of his office, and hereditary tenure of the post grew normal, for the wealth of the new settled life afforded



THE BUDDHA'S LIFE STORY CHRONICLED IN A SCULPTURED GATEWAY

Four superb stone gateways, facing the cardinal points of the compass, are the chief glory of the Sanchi tope. This photograph shows the upper portion of the northern one with its marvelous carvings, telling the story of the master's life. In these early sculptures the Buddha is represented only by symbols. A lotus flower symbolized his Birth, a bo-tree his Enlightenment, a wheel his First Discourse, and a stupa, two of which appear in the pillar on the right, his Death.

Photo, F. Deaville Walker

TREE-SHADED BIRTHPLACE OF THE BUDDHIST FAITH

It was while meditating under a bo-tree in the forests of Gaya, in the modern Bihar, that Siddhartha Gautama received enlightenment. Beside this tree King Asoka built a shrine, succeeded later by a large temple, the famous Buddh-gaya; and near the west wall of this is the large fig tree seen in the right part of this photograph, perhaps the descendant of that under which the Buddha sat. A brick platform encircling the trunk affords a resting place for countless pilgrim worshippers to-day.

Photo, F. Deaville Walker

abundant means wherewith to maintain a large body of non-workers.

These two classes, priests and nobles, formed a mutual support against the people, among whom, again, great differences in wealth steadily manifested themselves. The rich householder whose land was cultivated for him by serfs had comparatively little save race in common with the poor man who was either landless or owned but a small lot, and who could not rival him in cattle, which at that epoch were the most cherished of possessions. Below all these stood the semi-free population. But these economic differences and divisions of function were strengthened and transmuted by racial issues. Brought into close contact with a dark aboriginal population, the light-colored Aryan was rendered deeply sensible of his distinction from his enemies; dislike of marriage with the aborigines spread a disinclination to wed outside the circle of those of like rank and occupation, and gradually paved the way by which a simple class system, such as may be paralleled in many other countries developed into the rigidity of caste. Needless to say, while mixed marriages were disapproved, mésalliances between men of the higher classes and women of the lower were far from rare. The mixed offspring of these alliances constituted another source of caste, for they were often grudged recognition as appertaining to the rank of the father, while naturally they declined tamely to sink to the status of the mother.

It was inevitable that a hereditary priesthood in the employment of wealthy patrons, whether royal or of the people, should delight in the elaboration of ritual and in the devising of magic rites whereby

THE BUDDHA PREACHING TO TREE-DWELLING NAGAS

Numerous super-human beings or demigods were worshipped by the early peoples of India. Among these were the Nagas, this term including siren serpents—in their ordinary shape cobras—and dryads, powerful tree deities believed at will to assume human form. In all the early stories the Nagas are represented either as adherents to the Buddha or as hostile to him until overcome by his teaching, to which, as represented in this carving at Takt-i-bahi, they thereafter listened with pleasure.

From Journal of Royal Asiatic Society

to secure their patrons the power or wealth or offspring on which their hearts were set. The elaboration of sacrifice caused repugnance to some thoughtful minds, and there developed a school of thought which cared nothing for the sacrifice, but sought instead to read the riddle of the universe. It is, however, characteristic of the background against which the movement rose that the term by which it sought to describe the underlying reality of the world was the Brahman, a word denoting the prayer or spell which commanded the gods, and thus controlled in ultimate essence the course of the world. The holy power inherent in the prayer thus serves to describe that which lies at the base of the manifold of sense, and of which all things that Man knows are but manifestations.

To this idea was joined another. The early thought of India penetrated to the truth that, however infinite the world, however varied its people, there was nothing greater than the soul of man, the Atman. Hence by a bold synthesis was developed the doctrine that the universe and the self of man, the Brahman and the Atman, are but one, an assurance firmly held, though the difficulty of expressing effectively the relation between the two was fully recognized. The Upanishads, which date from 600 B.C., show us the delight of these early thinkers in their formula as well as their difficulty in applying it.

The absolute, they argued, is beyond all knowledge, ineffable, but at the same time it is the self in man, the seer who is not seen, the thinker who is not thought. It exists, and is therefore Being; yet is not such being as we know in this world of empirical reality, and so again it may be described as Not-being. It is above the ordinary conceptions of time and space, and casual relations are not really applicable to it. None the less, it lies at the root of the whole universe of which in a sense it is the cause.

To this subtle conception a fresh complication is added by the acceptance by these thinkers of a new dogma, unknown to the early Vedic Indians. It is impossible to say exactly what caused the great popularity of the doctrine of transmigration or metempsychosis in India, but its significance and value in India are inseparable from the growing pessimism of Indian thought, on the one hand, and a deepening sense of morality on the other.

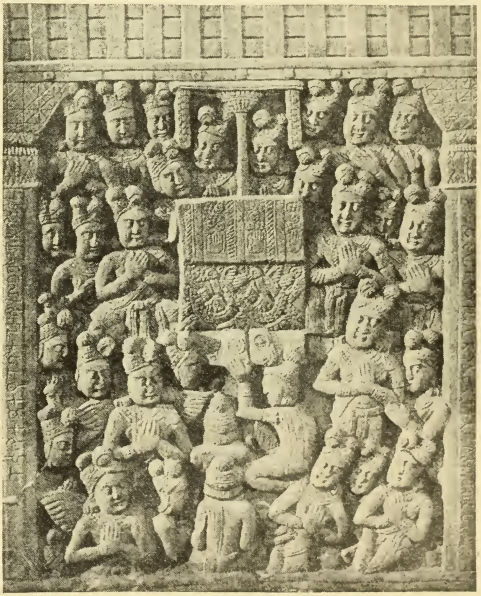
Death was doubtless repugnant to the early Vedic Indian, but his outlook was not unduly cumbered by fear for the morrow. Longer experience perhaps of

the fatal climate of his country reduced him to a more gloomy frame of mind, to which Death, the ender, appears as the most insistent foe of Man. But a new terror was added to life and death when the idea grew that even in the shadowy existence of the next world the arch enemy might make his onslaught and the dead be forced to die again. Transfer this idea to a second death on earth and not in the next world, and the system of transmigration is all but ripe; and in fact the transference was made in the Brahmana literature just before the period of the Upanishads. In them, however, it appears linked with a most important and novel conception, the belief that what a man sows in one life, that must he reap in another, so that whatever he may be on earth to-day is the outcome of deeds in a past existence.

Man appears to be bound for ever to an interminable series of existences, during which he may vary in rank from one of the insects which breathe but to perish, up to one of the Vedic gods, for they too cannot be regarded as immune from the round of transmigration. But to the philosophic minds of the day this unceasing round appears weariness and confusion. Some release must be found, and the solution is offered by their philosophy of the identity of the self and the absolute. Let but the self recognize that it is the absolute, let it achieve in a moment of intense concentration, in mystic trance, realization of the unity, and the bonds which tie man to life are broken for ever. He may live on for a few years in the mortal body; but once he has laid it aside, he is at rest for ever, not extinct, but at one with the absolute, which is his true soul.

It follows then that our ordinary morality is of value, because it conditions the life of transmigration, but it nevertheless is fundamentally valueless, seeing that it leads but from weary birth to weary birth. True deliverance has nothing to do with morality, or at best morality is a mere propaedeutic; insight alone brings release. Insight, moreover, requires not moral effort, but the practice of the trance, in which Man feels all barriers of space and time, of corporeality, of self falling from him, and experiences the pure joy of union with the absolute.

Such in essence was the profound doc-

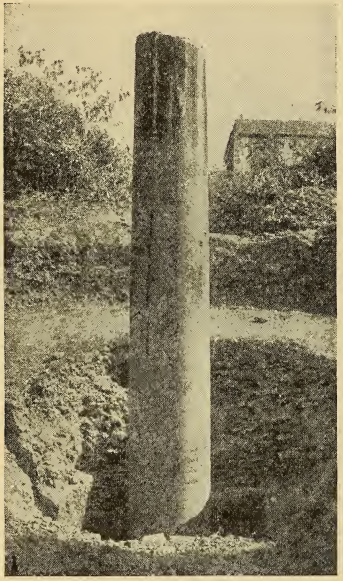


ADORATION OF THE BUDDHA'S FOOTPRINTS

Footprints of the Buddha were objects of reverence from a very early period. In this bas-relief they are depicted on an altar before which a royal personage kneels, his hands laid upon them. Both footprints are marked with the wheel symbol, one of the 32 birthmarks of a child destined to attain Buddha-hood.

From Alexander Cunningham, 'The Stupa of Bharhut'

trine which had seized firmly on the minds of the more intellectual of the Brahmanical priesthood in the sixth century B.C., when Gautama Siddhartha, later to be known as the Buddha, 'the enlightened,' was born in a district on the borders of the present Nepal and Oudh, probably about 560 B.C. It seems most probable that, a scion of a noble house in a petty principality, he was



GARDEN OF GAUTAMA'S BIRTH

The traditional site of Gautama's birth, in a garden called Lumbini, was pointed out to King Asoka, who caused one of his pillars to be erected thereon. The inscription can just be distinguished near the foot of the column.

Courtesy of Mrs. Rhys Davids

induced at the age of twenty-nine to abandon his home, his wife and child, so that he might seek to satisfy a craving for assurance and peace in life. He seems to have given himself up for many months to those excesses of a fanatical asceticism which have been recorded from the earliest times by travelers in India, but at last to have abandoned these practices as fruitless and unavailing.

This marks a distinct breach between his thought and that of his elder contemporary Mahavira, founder of the Jainism of history. To Mahavira asceticism was everything, and he carried his devotion to principle to the extent of practising and demanding nudity from his followers, while his hatred of the slaying of even the meanest vermin led him and his followers to strange excesses and to an aversion from the use of water for cleansing purposes.

The defection of Siddhartha from his companions was followed by long mental anguish. At last knowledge came to him, and thenceforth he spent an itinerant life preaching his gospel of salvation, and giving everywhere the impetus to the formation of communities of monks, obeying no formal rule, but pledged to lead a life according to the model which he set.

That model also it is hard to discern, for the different schools of Buddhism were firm in asserting that they each followed faithfully the intent of the master whose authority was their touchstone of orthodoxy. Yet it seems certain that on matters metaphysical the Buddha was strictly agnostic. Did this agnostic attitude represent the Buddha's own views, or did he withhold his inmost thoughts from his disciples, lest his opinions deter them from following the path in which he desired them to move? There are traces in the Pali texts that his silence was deliberate, and that it arose rather from a fullness of knowledge than from real inability to deal with or from dislike to touch upon those vital questions.

What he did claim was that he had a solution for the misery of existence which he asserted confidently was self-evident. Birth is the beginning for Man of a round of sorrows which never end, for death merely means the beginning in a fresh birth of a further experience of the woes of existence. But, terrible as is the problem, a solution is available.

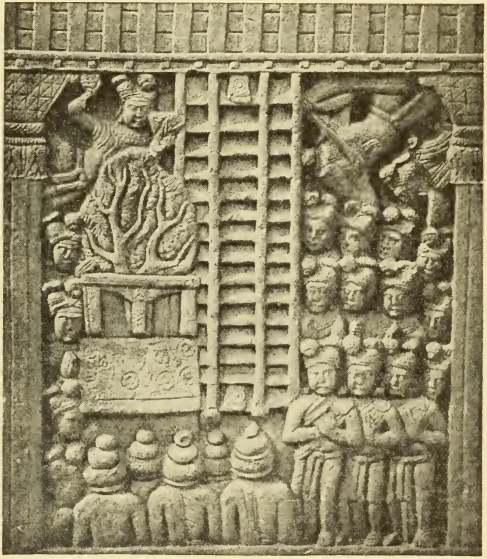
By laying aside desire and eschewing ignorance Man can end the combination which produces fresh births. When he realizes the impermanence and the essential misery of all things, he attains enlightenment, all desire dies in him, and

already in life he enjoys the bliss of Nirvana, which is at least freedom from the fire of desire and the pains of ignorance. Is it also freedom from all existence, utter extinction? That we have seen is precisely the most vital of the questions which the Buddha has not answered, will not answer.

What moral guidance can such a doctrine give us? It can bid us live as monks, celibate but not normally solitary, rather gathered together in simple communities for mutual encouragement and help, a life of quiet reflection and of renunciation of desire; and, supreme joy, we are to devote ourselves to the practice of that trance in which we can in life attain the bliss of Nirvana. Benevolence is to be shown to the good and the bad alike; it is touched with no moral quality, and righteous anger is utterly excluded from the life of the monk, for anger is synonymous with desire, or inseparable from it. But we may well believe that, from the first, benevolence meant more for many a monk than the mere avoidance of any feeling which might disturb his quietism, and from this rule of the teacher is derived directly the brilliant expansion of his command to a system of positive and fervent benevolence which appears in the school of the Mahayana from the first century A.D., even if that change in attitude were in part the outcome of Christian influences.

The Buddha is recorded to have deprecated the admission of nuns to the faith, but his beloved disciple Ananda and a lady of his family prevailed on him to yield. The monks and nuns, however, formed but a small fraction of the population, and the absence of any hierarchy effectively prevented any rigidity in the development of the doctrine.

It does not appear that the spread of Buddhism progressed rapidly after the death of the Master; and that event was marked by an episode which shows how inveterate is the religious sense of man.



THE BUDDHA'S LADDER FROM HEAVEN TO EARTH

Legend says that the Buddha visited heaven to preach his doctrine there. On his departure Indra prepared for him a triple ladder, in glory like three rainbows, whereby he descended at Sankisa. On the top and bottom steps of the middle ladder as depicted at Bharhut, the Buddha's footprints may be seen.

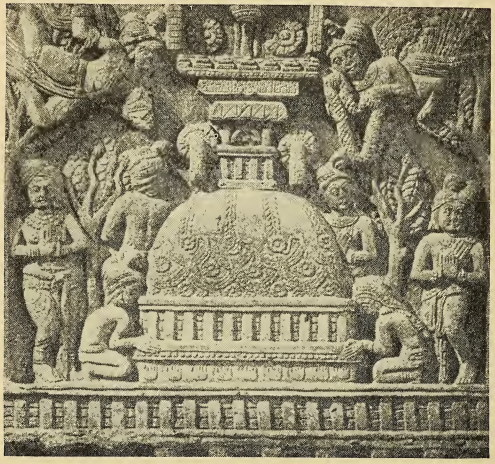
From Alexander Cunningham, 'The Stupa of Bharhut'

The Buddha had clearly no place in his system for ordinary acts of worship, for these essentially negate the doctrine of the universality of causation. On his death, however, bitter disputes arose for the possession of fragments of his calcined bones, and the fortunate recipients of relics hastened to erect memorial mounds, or stupas, over them. Nor is it possible to avoid the suspicion that in

the eyes of many among his hearers who were not of the rationalist school, to which we owe the Pali Canon preserved in Ceylon, the teacher was and claimed to be the Great Male, Mahapurusha, which Indian speculative thought had created as an ideal type of King or Sage, and which was something more than human.

If the Buddha himself did not claim divinity, it was not in the Indian mind to refrain from attributing it to him, and side by side with the fraternities which followed his rule and saw in him nothing but the revered teacher, who on his deathbed had bidden each man work out his own salvation now that he was gone, were doubtless many laymen and not a few monks and nuns who deemed that he who was perfect was none other than a god who had revealed himself on earth for the edification and satisfaction of mankind.

So far Buddhism had achieved but a moderate measure of royal favor, but the faith was to win the approval of Asoka (273-232 B.C.), whose conquest of Kalinga and bloody wars seem to have aroused in him a sad consciousness of wrong doing. He assimilated, and in his inscriptions, deliberately strewn throughout his wide domain, formally and earnestly inculcated the close following by his people of the moral precepts of the Buddha. While he insisted, however, on the virtues of benevolence and tolerance towards men of different faith, he was led by his profound appreciation of Buddhism to actions incompatible with the spirit of the religion or creed whose teaching he professed to spread abroad. The rule that forbade the taking of the life of most animals for food or in sacrifice was strictly enjoined, and breaches of it might even have involved capital punishment for the offenders; but the king declined entirely to recognize that by thus hindering sacrifice he was offending the religious convictions of a vast section of his subjects and sowing the seeds of a bitter hatred between Brahmans and Buddhists.



SCULPTURED PICTURE OF A BUDDHIST SHRINE

Originally only a memorial mound of earth and stones, the Buddhist stupa was a masonry structure raised to enshrine relics of the Buddha, a saint, or a king. The building stood on a railed base and had a dome, usually ornamented with a garland and topped by an umbrella on a square pedestal.

From Alexander Cunningham, 'The Stupa of Bharhut'

It would be idle to deny the great impetus given to Buddhism by his patronage. It may, however, be doubted whether Asoka's intervention would have had such enduring results as it apparently did have, were it not that the fall of his empire in the incapable hands of his successors was contemporaneous with the beginning of Greek invasions and the inroads of foreigners from Iran and Turkistan, who found greater attractions in the more cosmopolitan and missionary religion of Buddhism than in the narrowly exclusive and national Brahmanism.

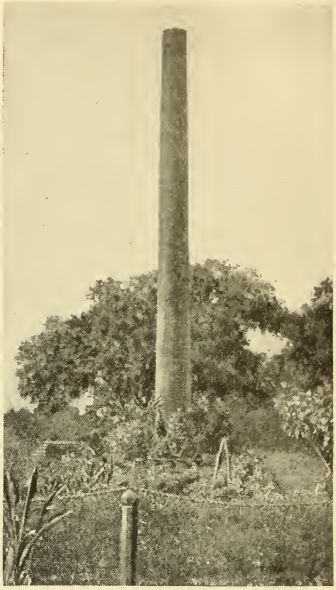
On the other hand, all credit is due to

Asoka for his encouragement of the missionary efforts of the Buddhists, for as fate had it Buddhism was to find out of India a permanence of popularity denied to it in its own home. Yet it would be wrong to deduce from this fact that Buddhism was essentially a non-Indian religion or philosophy. Though Buddhism was ultimately to lose its hold on India, that was only after long centuries during which it had fertilized the fine flower of Indian culture, and had produced so characteristically Indian a genius as the great logician Dignaga.

Yet another important service to Indian civilization was rendered by Buddhism, in that it induced Asoka to undertake such public benefactions as the planting of fruit and shade trees, the digging of wells and the erection of watering places and rest houses on the great high-roads, a legacy perhaps of Persian influence. He promoted the cultivation of medicinal herbs and roots even in foreign allied kingdoms, and hospitals for sick men and animals alike appear to have been included in his charity.

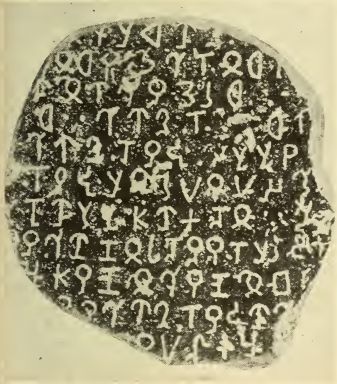
Evidence from external sources is still wanting to establish the existence of intellectual relations between the sages of India and the early thinkers of China, and it must, therefore, remain uncertain whether it was to the Brahmanical philosophy of India that China owes the doctrines of Lao-tze, whose birth tradition assigns to 604 or 570 B.C. Of his life we know little save that he was keeper of the archives at the court of an emperor of the Chou dynasty. Of his work we have nothing save savings preserved, though not without interpolation, by his disciples, in the Tao-Teh-King, the Book of the Tao and Teh.

The 'Brahman' of the Indians is closely akin to the 'Tao' of Lao-tze; it is an absolute which is beyond the world but which is also essentially involved in the world; it is active, and is therefore



ASOKA'S PILLAR AT ALLAHABAD

Ten of the graceful columns survive on the polished surface of which Asoka caused his edicts to be inscribed. This one, shorn of the capital that once adorned it, stands in the grounds of the fort at Allahabad.



ROCK EDICT OF KING ASOKA

Asoka's inscriptions on rocks and pillars and in caves are among the most valuable of Buddhist monuments and of prime importance in the history of writing in India. This specimen was found by Prof. Rhys Davids at Girnar.

From Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist India'

Being whence spring all things that are, but it is also Not-being, whence is derived its active aspect. It evades all expression, and existed undifferentiated and perfect before heaven and earth came into existence; before the Most High Lord it was. Man takes his norm from earth, earth from heaven, heaven from the Tao, but the Tao is a law to itself. It abides unchanging, pervading all, transcendent yet returning, beyond human sight, hearing or touch. Yet it manifests itself in a manner that is real, not a mere illusion imposed on us, as some Indian thinkers were bold enough to hold. This self-revelation is seen in the ordered flow, the way of nature, which the term Tao normally denoted in the thought of the time. To Man this revelation is fundamental, and hence the name Tao serves best to indicate that which is above and beyond all natural law, but which yet is the hidden source, the first principle, whence nature depends.

OLD BUDDHIST STORIES TOLD IN STONE

This medallion from Bharhut records the establishment of the monastery at Jetavana. Anathapindika (the central figure) bought the site for as much gold as would cover the whole ground. His servants are shown spreading the gold—brought in the bullock wagon at the bottom—over the garden.

From Alexander Cunningham, 'The Stupa of Bharhut'

Lao-tze blends with the attitude of the Brahmanical teacher of the Upanishads the Buddhist ideal of passive good will towards mankind. He agrees with his rival Confucius in holding that the natural tendency of the Tao, the way of nature, is goodness, however vitally he may dissent from Confucius with regard to the method to be adopted in order to secure this end. On that head the difference of view is fundamental; benevolence, filial piety, political loyalty, righteousness, all are states generated merely in opposition to the emergence of vices through mankind's neglect of the rule of nature; virtue is the outcome of a fall from grace and of disobedience to nature, which is our true self. If men would lay aside their sagacity and wisdom, abandon their benevolence and righteousness, cease from schemes and artful devices in the search for gain, then true love and kindliness would be all-prevailing—not confined to family or state groups—and robbers and thieves would cease to be. Forms of worship are idle; spirits of the dead may do harm, but to avert their ill will by offerings is useless; the true method to be adopted is to obey the law of nature, when the dead will have no power to harm.

A system of metaphysics so abstruse, a code of ethics so quietistic, and politi-

RUINS OF THE SAKIYA SHRINE THAT HELD THE BUDDHA'S ASHES

Gautama Siddhartha's mother belonged to the clan of the Sakiyas, whose country was on the border of what are now Nepalese and British territories. After the cremation of the Buddha a portion of the ashes from his funeral pyre was given to the Sakiyas, who enshrined them in a great stupa or 'tope' which, in its perfect state, was about as high as the dome of St. Paul's, measured from the roof. This pathetic mound is all that remains of that once splendid monument.

From Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist India'

IMPOSING BUDDHIST SHRINE AT SANCHI AS IT STANDS RESTORED

Although the connection of Sanchi with the Buddha is now unknown, that village in Bhopal had some spot important in King Asoka's eyes, for there he raised one of the finest monuments in all India. By the unfailing patience of Major Cole and Sir John Marshall the ruins have been restored almost to their pristine condition, and on the summit of its lonely hill the imposing dome again stands silhouetted against the sky with two smaller domes and numerous ruins around it.

Photo, F. Deaville Walker

cal nihilism coupled with a wholly negative attitude to religion, might seem to have little attraction for any mind. But Lao-tze in the true spirit of the East found his consolation in the ineffable joy of the sense of being in communion with the absolute, nay more, of becoming the absolute at the moment when all sense of distinction between him and the object of his belief finally vanished.

This side of his doctrine is developed and expounded with greater precision by the most famous of his disciples, Chuang-tze, a contemporary of Mencius, or Meng-tze, the follower of Confucius, in the fourth century B.C.

Taoism was fated to win popularity and to become of high importance as a factor in Chinese religious development on the strength of matters, strictly speaking, extraneous to it. The popular mind attributed to the recluses the secret of prolonging life indefinitely, and the even more useful power of command over the metals of the earth, which they could transmute at will—gifts that some of them were doubtless ready to claim. Theosophy united itself, as in India, with alchemy, and by the second century B.C. the search for the philosopher's stone which could transmute base metals into gold, and for the elixir of immortality, were definitely linked with Taoism and gave it imperial patronage and widespread popularity.

THE TOMB OF CONFUCIUS

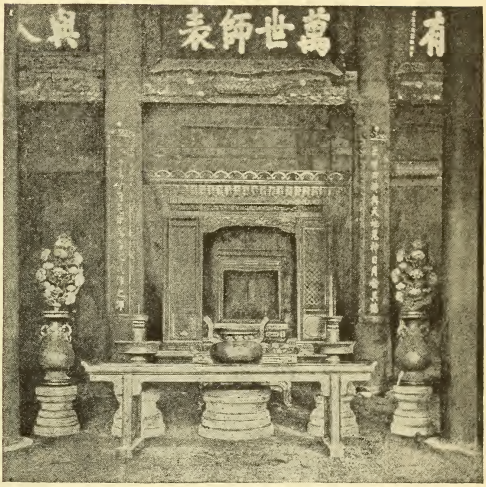
Confucius died in 478 B.C. and was buried in the cemetery outside Küfow which holds the bones of all the Kung clan. His grave is on a tree-covered mound in a large, isolated rectangle. A statue before it is inscribed 'The Most Sagely Ancient Teacher; The All-accomplished, All-informed King.'

There is conscious and deliberate antagonism to Lao-tze's gospel of negation in the robust, if uninspired, positivism of Confucius. It is characteristic that we are definitely informed of the circumstances of his life. He was born in 551 B.C. in the small state of Lu, in the region now known as Shantung. Twenty years later he entered the administrative service, and in 517 paid a visit to Loyang, then the capital of the empire, where he delighted his love of ceremonial by studying at first hand the mode of performance of the imperial sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. In 501 he was appointed governor of the city of Changtu, which he speedily transformed into an abode of virtue, if we may believe the account of his followers. His sovereign was struck by his success, and advanced him to the rank of minister of justice.

His success earned the jealousy of neighboring princes, who saw in the reforms of Confucius a menace to their prosperity; presents of horses and dancing girls seduced the ruler to withdraw his countenance from the sage, who tardily and reluctantly realized that he must retire from the place in which he had ceased to command respect. Henceforth, until he was recalled to Lu in 484, he lived a wandering life, in the hope that

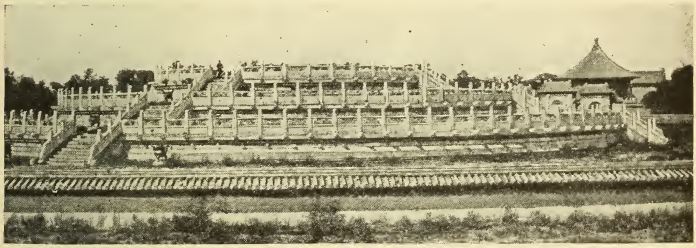
he might find a prince wise enough to trust him to inaugurate the reforms which, he remained assured, would accomplish something substantial in twelve months and in three years would perfect the government. He died in 478, having in his last years completed the work of collection of the ancient scriptures.

As later arranged, the Confucian literature includes the five Canonical Books and the four Classics. The former are the Shu King, the book of historical documents, the Shi King, the book of poetry, the Yi King, a manual of divination, the Li King, on rites and ceremonies, and the Ch'un-ch'iu, a summary account of the history of Lu from 722 to 481, this last composed by himself. His conversations as recorded by disciples form the first of the Classics, the Lun Yu; to his disciples or his grandson are ascribed the second and third, the Ta-Hsio, Great Teaching, and the Chun Yung, Doctrine of the Mean, while the fourth is the Meng-tze, or Mencius, the



SHRINE AND ALTAR OF CONFUCIUS

Inside the Confucian temple in Peking a laquered tablet set in an alcove is inscribed 'Tablet of the spirit of the Most Holy Ancestral Teacher Confucius.' The beams are hung with dedicatory inscriptions, one of which was penciled by each succeeding emperor in token of his veneration for the sage.



CENTER OF THE UNIVERSE: THE ALTAR OF HEAVEN AT PEKING

T'ien T'an, the Altar of Heaven, is the most sacred of all Chinese religious structures. It consists of three circular terraces with marble balustrades, and staircases at the four cardinal points. The upper platform is paved with marble stones in nine concentric circles, figuring as many heavens, and an altar open to the sky stands in the center. Here at dawn on the winter solstice the Emperors, deemed to be in the center of the universe, acknowledged inferiority to Heaven and to Heaven alone.

Photo E.N.A.

THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN

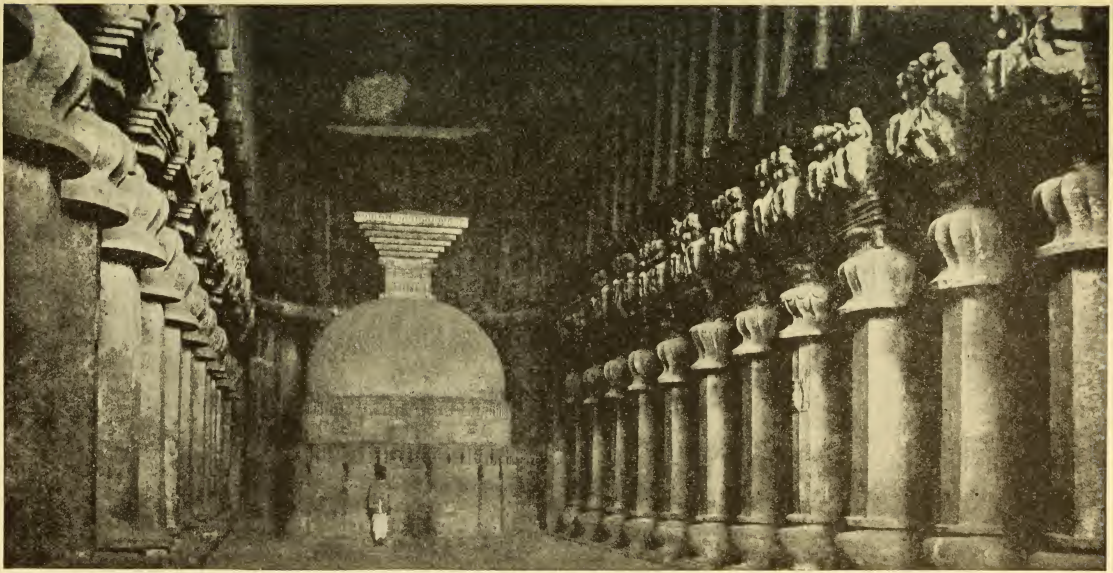
In the Southern City of Peking the Temple of Heaven, towering to a height of 99 feet, with triple roof covered with glazed tiles of deep cobalt blue, is the most conspicuous object. Its Chinese name means 'Temple of Prayer for the Year,' and here, early in spring, offerings were made for a propitious year.

work of the best known of his followers, Mencius (372-289 B.C.).

The importance of Confucius lies not in his individuality, but in the completeness with which he expounded the ideal of his countrymen. The amazing influence of the Confucian texts on posterity can be explained only by the fact that the views expressed were essentially akin to the characteristic Chinese spirit, though great importance must be allowed to his services in interpreting that spirit in so clear and enduring a form.

The risk that a tradition so weighty would crush out originality and life from Chinese thought and action was fully recognized by the emperor Shih Hwang Ti (246-210 B.C.). When, after long struggles, he erected a centralised and effective empire on the ruins of the loose feudalism which had prevailed, he ordered the destruction of the Shi King and the Shu King, and imposed the death penalty on those who kept or even discussed these works, commanding that treatises on medicine, agriculture and divination alone should be studied. But the death of the emperor in 210 and the fall of his dynasty removed the ban, while his persecution, so far from effecting his purpose, had conferred on the Confucian books an authority which they had not yet attained throughout the empire. The scholars of the early Han period (206 B.C.-A.D. 8) jealously collected the texts, the Li King was reconstructed, and China was presented with a body of doctrine, coherent and persuasive, which, for good or evil, has deeply impressed itself on its whole intellectual, social and political life.

Lao-tze was primarily a metaphysician; Confucius appears to have had an aversion, worthy of Herbert Spencer, from pure philosophy, and to have been wholly devoid of religious feeling. He inculcates indeed the whole array of ceremonial with its precise arrangements for sacrifices public and private, the former carried out not by a priestly caste, as in India, but by high officials, the latter by the head of each clan. The emperor sacrificed to Heaven and Earth, to mountains and great rivers, to the spirits of the soil and the crops of the empire as a whole; his feudal vassals paid homage to the genius of their territories, to the spirits of the soil and crops in their states, and to the mountains and rivers under their dominion. In each village the representatives of the families or clans gathered to sacrifice to the spirits of the soil and crops, and the head of each clan in his courtyard made offering to the spirits of the family fields. Moreover, the emperor, his vassals and his high officials made periodic sacrifices to the five penates, the guardian spirits of the door, the furnace, the central court, the gate and the path, while the heads of families had to content themselves



INTERIOR OF THE CAVE TEMPLE OF KARLI: THE FINEST ROCK-HEWN SHRINE IN INDIA

Like the still earlier ascetics, the early mendicant Buddhists found shelter in the rainy season in the natural caves which later they elaborated into monasteries with shrines and temples. The finest of these is at Karli in the Western Ghats. It has a well-proportioned nave about the size of the choir of Norwich Cathedral, with massive pillars separating it from an enclosing aisle. The roof is of teak and of the same age as the temple. Under the dome of the apse, so set that the light falls on it from the great stone window over the entrance, is a solid, rock-hewn stupa symbolizing the Buddha.

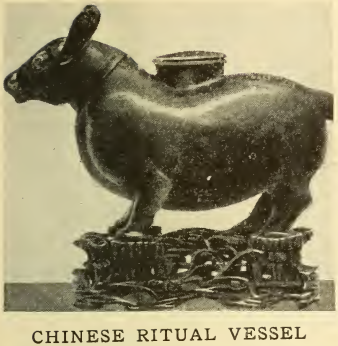
Photo, F. Deaville Walker

with offering either to the spirit of the door or to that of the furnace.

But the comparatively limited character of the participation of the people in the ritual was made good by their devotion to the spirits of the dead, who received the most ample recognition indeed in the public ceremonial, but formed the essential feature of the worship of the people. Confucius, however, while he clearly believed passionately in the necessity of the ritual, shows no trace of religious emotion. Heaven, it seems clear, had come to be regarded by many Chinese as a true personal divinity, the sovereign on high, the supreme power which guards and guides the destiny of men. But Confucius, while he renders to the gods the homage due, divorces them entirely from his moral precepts, taking in fact as little heed of them in this regard as if they were the capricious and often immoral deities of the poetic imagination of the Greeks. Nor does he merely ignore them; he seems to have displayed towards them a profound agnosticism; it is wisdom, he holds, for a man to know that he is aware of the exact extent of his own knowledge, and, similarly, that he appreciates the measure of his own ignorance, and how can a man know anything of Heaven when it is so hard to know even what passes on the earth? In similar strain in his

SACRIFICIAL SERVICE OF IMMEMORIAL ANTIQUITY

Twice a year, in spring and autumn, Confucius is honored in the Hall of Great Perfection in Peking by sacrifices at which all the high officials of the Government still assist. On this occasion ritual vestments, musical instruments and sacrificial vessels of immemorial antiquity are used, and a prescribed number of solemn kow-tows is made before the great moralist's memorial tablet—a remarkable proof of the innate religious conservatism of the Chinese.



CHINESE RITUAL VESSEL

Chinese sacrificial wine vessels were given a great variety of forms. This early bronze 'rhinoceros' vase of the Chou dynasty has a hinged cover on the back and a spout at the mouth. The wooden stand represents water-plants and rocks.

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conversations he avoided touching on the action of spirits, for in his view little or nothing was to be gained for moral edification from their vagaries.

What is perhaps more astonishing in a mind so imbued with respect for the life of the family is his unwillingness to allow emotion to obtrude into the worship of the ancestral spirits, which might well have seemed to him far more real than the spirits of nature. He demands that the ancestors shall be worshipped from a respectful distance with dignified moderation and calm. Nor would he even consent to answer the inquiries made of him regarding life after death. 'If I tell you,' he said, 'that the dead have consciousness, then loving sons will take their lives in order to rejoin their dead parents; if I say that they have none, impious children will not even bury their dead.' This is the voice of a sober rationalism in which we can discern no real belief in the continued existence of Man when his brief life is over.

But in this life we have definite duties to perform, for Confucius has no difficulty in building upon the facts of the simple patriarchal family, which still dominated the social life of China, a definite scheme of morals. All rests on the empiric fact—as true in modern as in ancient China—of filial love; in it we have a fundamental reality which explains not merely the duties of children to parents, but those of the subjects to the king, of the citizens to those set in authority, of the living to the dead, of soldiers to their country, of all men to the heavenly sovereign; Man owes it to his ancestors to transmit to his descendants the moral inheritance he has received from them. Nor, of course, is the relationship one-sided; the duty of the father to the son is the model for the reciprocal duties owed by all those to whom filial piety is extended. If we ask the source of this piety, we find at once that it is innate; the desire to do good is an essential part of Man's nature, and it is the duty of education to enable this innate goodness to survive the attacks made on it by passion.

USED IN THE ERA OF CONFUCIUS

Bronze sacrificial utensils figure largely in the rituals of the Chou dynasty, to which epoch this vessel for meat offerings belongs. The tripod and three oxen on the lid explain its name, San Hsi Ting, 'tripod of three victims.'

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Duty to neighbors may seem a little less easy to subsume under filial piety, but Confucius holds that the result of the performance of pious

duties is a prevailing benevolence which engenders and is promoted by harmony among men standing to one another in relations of equality. But to Confucius benevolence is something very different from the passionate charity of some forms of Christianity, or even the universal good will of the Buddhist. It is essentially based on reciprocity; do to others as you would be done by, but requite evil by evil; good must not be wasted on those unworthy of it.

We have, therefore, a Confucian ideal of the perfect man—one whose natural goodness has been made second nature by steadfast purpose and skilled training. Whatever this ideal may lack in spirituality, it is more human, less artificial, than the ideal type which the Stoics in Greece were about to set up for imitation and admiration. It was inevitable that it should be attacked, and in the fourth century B.C. Yang Chu advanced boldly the doctrine of materialistic hedonism. He denied that there was any life after death—and here, we may suspect, his thought was in agreement with the real belief of Confucius—but he drew from that premise the dubious conclusion that purely selfish enjoyment of sensual pleasure was the one aim for mankind, concurring therein with the Charvaka school of ancient and medieval India. Perhaps in deliberate protest against so unworthy a creed, Moh Tih developed the doctrine of the all-conquering power of love. If Man would but love his neighbour as himself, none would steal, none rob, none slay; princes would not attack their fellow princes, men of eminence would not despise the humble; and, as a practical beginning of the new regime, Moh Tih urged princes to influence their peoples by adopting the doctrine as the principle of their polity.

Either of the new doctrines was distasteful to the true spirit of Confucianism, and it fell to Mencius to refute them. Both he roundly declared were anarchic; both utterly confused right and wrong; both would reduce men to the state of beasts without sense of duty to king or parent; both would banish righteousness and benevolence from the world. Mencius strove also with effective logic, during his travels from court to court, to inculcate the truth of the essential goodness of human nature. He had to contend with those who asserted its essential badness and proneness to evil, like Siun K'uang, a younger contemporary; with others who declared that it was morally indifferent and dependent solely on circumstances; and with yet others who maintained that some men were innately good, some evil, as when a good father had a degraded and vicious son. Mencius insisted that analysis showed that Man's mind was permeated by moral feelings, sympathy and pity, shame and abhorrence, respect and reverence, approbation and disapprobation, whence sprang benevolence, righteousness, intelligence and knowledge, which thus were not acquired virtues but were innate in the human mind. But he insists also on the advantage of moral training, in order to develop these innate tendencies and to realize the full worth of Man.

Mencius seems to have had no desire to imitate Confucius in seeking to put his political principles to the test of practice, but he displays shrewdness and acumen in the advice which he is said to have given to the princes whom he visited, and the brief dialogues which have been handed down to us remind us of the Socratic manner as recorded by the well-meaning Xenophon. He bids a prince discard from his mind the idea of profit in his dealing with his subjects, since such a conception adopted by others leads to competition and ruin, and to rely instead on the maxims of benevolence and righteousness.

A better logician than Confucius, his influence in securing the spread of his master's doctrines was notable; he set the example of seeking to elaborate political theory on the basis of the ethical principles of the school, and his breadth of view is reflected in the fact that both conservative and socialistic reformers in later times claimed to erect their systems on his doctrine.